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LIVES OF EMINENT

AND

ILLUSTRIOUS ENGLISHMEN,

FROM

ALFRED THE GREAT TO THE LATEST TIMES,

On an Original Plan.

EDITED BY

GEORGE GODFREY CUNNINGHAM.

ILLUSTRATED BY A SERIES OF FINELY EXECUTED PORTRAITS, SELECTED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES, AND ENGRAVED BY EMINENT ARTISTS.

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LIVES OF EMINENT

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ILLUSTRIOUS ENGLISHMEN.

I.—POLITICAL SERIES.

Queen Anne.

BORN A. D. 1665.—DIED A. D. 1714.

"The act of Settlement," says Hallam, "was the seal of our constitutional laws,—the complement of the revolution itself, and the bill of rights,—the last great statute which restrains the power of the crown, and manifests, in any conspicuous degree, a jealousy of parliament in behalf of its own and the subjects' privileges. The battle had been fought and gained; the statute-book, as it becomes more voluminous, is less interesting in the history of our constitution; the voice of petition, complaint, or remonstrance is seldom to be traced in the journals; the crown, in return, desists altogether, not merely from the threatening or objurgatory tone of the Stuarts, but from that disaffection sometimes apparent in the language of William; and the vessel seems riding in smooth water, moved by other impulses, and liable, perhaps, to other dangers, than those of the ocean-wave and the tempest." The reigns accordingly of Anne, George I., and George II., present a greater approximation of parties to each other, with none of those bursts of extreme violence which so often shook nearly to upsetting the whole social fabric in preceding reigns. It will be necessary, however, to a clear understanding of the state and the movements of parties in these reigns, to distinguish accurately betwixt whig and tory principles, not so much indeed with relation to the crown itself, as to other parts of the national polity; for, as Mr Hallam observes, the peculiar circumstances of the four reigns immediately succeeding the Revolution, and the spirit of faction which prevailed, "threw both parties very often into a false position, and gave to each the language and sentiments of the other." The tory, then, was ardently loud as the supporter of the church, to which he was often ready to sacrifice even his loyalty itself, and always prepared to sacrifice the great principles of toleration. The whig, on the contrary, opposed the high pretensions of the church, and evinced a favourable leaning towards dissenters. "In the reigns of William and Anne, the whigs, speaking of them generally as a great party, preserved their original character unimpaired far more than their opponents. All that had passed in the former reign served to

humble the tories, and to enfeeble their principle." With these brief explanations of the distinctive features of the two great political parties, which we have given nearly in the words of Mr Hallam, the reader will be prepared for perusing the sketches which follow of the leading political characters of that period of English history on which we have now entered.

ANNE STUART, queen of Great Britain, the second daughter of James II. then duke of York, by his marriage with Anne, daughter to the earl of Clarendon, was born on the 6th day of February, 1665. A circumstance is connected with the early habits and feelings of this princess, which might have passed unnoticed with the other events of a retired childhood, had not the powerful influence it afterwards assumed over the state of Britain and the policy of Europe, made it a subject of political investigation, and of interest to historians. The early attachment entertained by the princess for Sarah Jennings, afterwards dutchess of Marlborough, was probably the effect of arbitrary circumstances. Friendship, so dependent as that exhibited by Anne, seldom exerts itself in making choice, but readily fixes itself on the nearest object; and later events in the life of this princess show that her affections could be fixed on less worthy objects. Educated apart from a court with which any connection was contamination, and committed by a Roman Catholic father, and an uncle not zealous for any religion whatever, to be taught a rigid adherence to the forms and doctrines of the church of England, she was, to a certain extent, set apart from the rest of the world, and being of a disposition which inclined her to depend on the sympathy and protection of a friend, Sarah Jennings, her playfellow from the earliest childhood, three years her elder, and a girl of insinuating address and high feelings, became her bosom-friend, the superintendent of all her actions, and, it may be said, the object of all her affections.[1] Overpowered by her feelings of fondness, the princess appeared to look forward with dread to a momentary separation from her favourite; they appointed a method of supporting a continual correspondence. The princess, who felt that the incumbrances of rank interfered with the cordiality of friendship, choosing for the purpose two feigned names, for herself that of Mrs Morley, and for her friend that of Mrs Freeman;[2] and according to the plan framed by the two girls in a fit of juvenile affection, the queen of Britain carried on an intercourse with the wife of the greatest general of the age.

The cautious vigilance with which the young princess was guarded from any circumstances which might admit a suspicion that she was not educated to a full reverence for the church of England, was one of the most prudent acts of Charles; and, in submitting to the measures for that end, James scarcely displayed his usual obstinacy. On the retirement of the latter to Brussels in 1679, he moderately intimated a wish that his daughter might accompany him,—a request to which the king at first consented, but which both the brothers saw the impropriety of urging, in opposition to opinions expressed in disapprobation of such a measure. In 1681, when the duke commenced his administration in Scotland, a similar proceeding was sanctioned by similar reasons; but party opinion in England rendering it dangerous that the

[1] Coxe's Marlborough, vol. i. p. 20.—Dutch. of Marlb. Account, p. 11, &c.
[2] Account, p. 14.

immediate return of the duke should be expected, or even suspected, the princess Anne was sent to attend him, that the English might feel convinced of his permanent absence.[3]

The policy pursued regarding the princess induced Charles to propose, and James, with some reluctance, to consent, that his daughter should be bestowed in marriage on Prince George of Denmark.[4] The marriage was celebrated on the 28th of July, 1683,[5] and the prince, thus allied to the royal family of England, and afterwards thrown on the most alluring and easy paths to greatness which ambition could suggest, distinguished himself for nothing but the obtuseness of his faculties, and the inoffensiveness of his disposition, passing to his grave as noiselessly and unobserved as he had entered the world. During the short period when James held uncertain rule, it cannot be said that he made any serious attempt to convert his daughter to the Catholic faith; his attempts in this respect were limited to the unsacerdotal extent of requesting her to read a few books on the Romish faith, and to form her own conclusions on their justness.[6] Indeed, the princess seems, by that time, to have clung with a true paternal obstinacy to the opinions of the church of England, which the king probably knew would bid defiance to any attempt at conversion. . "I am," she says, writing to her sister the princess of Orange, "resolved to undergo any thing rather than change my religion. Nay, if it should come to such extremities, I will choose to live on alms rather than change."[7]

At the birth of the prince of Wales, on the 10th of June, 1688, the conduct of the Princess Anne was more conspicuous than her unobtrusive indolence generally permitted it to be. She was absent at the period of the birth, having gone on the plea of bad health to the waters of Bath, and on her return she took no care to conceal her conviction, that the birth was spurious, and intended for the establishment of a Roman Catholic successor to that throne which must have otherwise devolved on a line of Protestants. Her father did not hesitate to affirm that her absence was a concerted plan, for the purpose of removing a witness, whose conscience would allow her to be wilfully blind to the truth, while she would not dare to contradict it;[8] but justice to the motives of the princess demand the acknowledgment, that her correspondence, previously to the period of the birth,[9] and her conference with a venerable statesman and relative,[10] sufficiently prove that she acted from a full conviction, seemingly more dependent on a zeal for the church of England—which she appears to have conceived, could not be permitted to suffer so severe a misfortune as the birth of a male heir to the crown—than on prospects of future aggrandizement; while it may be observed, that should any one now maintain the prince of Wales

[3] Life of James II. vol. i. p. 542, 682, from the memoirs written by himself, edited by J. S. Clarke. We need scarcely remind our reader, that this mutilated abstract of original documents—now, it is to be feared, irrecoverable—cannot be much depended on in the colour it gives to the intrigues of the period. The passages, however, from which the above facts are taken, bear to have been copied verbatim from the original.

[4] Life of James, vol. i. p. 745.—Hume, &c. [5] Somerville.

[6] Conduct of the Dutchess of Marlborough, p. 15.

[7] Dalrymp. Mem. Ap. to Book v. p. 170.

[8] Life of James II. vol. ii. p. 161. From the same quarter it is maintained that the bishops procured themselves to be imprisoned from similar motives.

[9] Vide Ap. No. 7, to the 5th Book of Dalrymp. Mem. containing a series of interesting Letters from the princess Anne to her sister.

[10] Clarendon's Diary.

not to have been the child of James the Second and his queen, the sincerity of this conviction on the part of the princess would certainly be the best argument for the support of such a position. During the unfortunate reign of her father, the princess with her husband lived retired from court, and took no interference in measures contrary to the principles of their religion. On the approach of the prince of Orange, the latter, by a sort of instinctive docility, joined the standard of the falling monarch. On the king's retreat to London, Prince George, seeing others gradually desert his master, judged it no longer prudent to abide by such a cause, and quietly left the camp at midnight, leaving behind him a letter of apology. On perusing which, James remarked that "the loss of a good trooper had been of greater consequence."[11] But when the unfortunate monarch heard that his daughter had preferred following the footsteps of her husband to remaining with a father, whom the world was gradually deserting, he exclaimed, with a bitter feeling, that he was the object of the ingratitude both of adherents and of children;—"God help me, my own children have deserted me!" It appeared to be the general feeling with those who deserted James that some apology was necessary, or at least decorous; and the princess, in a letter to the queen, portrayed her feelings with no little energy,—"never was any one," she says, "in such an unhappy condition, so divided between duty and affection to a father and a husband, and, therefore, I know not what I must do, but to follow one to preserve the other."[12] A writer who was present on the occasion mentions, that on the princess approaching Nottingham, through which she directed her flight, her friends were alarmed by the intelligence, that 2000 dragoons were in full pursuit, with the intention of forcing her back to London, and that an indefinite number of Irish savages were let loose for the destruction of the Protestant population;[13] and whether from design or accident, various quarters of the country were disturbed by the circulation of similar rumours.[14] The princess was received with acclamation by the people of Nottingham. She met the nobility and more distinguished gentry of the neighbourhood at a public banquet, and while her father's fate was uncertain, his situation dangerous, and all around him his enemies, she made a public entry with considerable magnificence at Oxford, where she met her husband.[15]

While the conduct of the princess cannot meet with the reverence due to a dereliction of filial affection, in favour of principle and the common good, those who have characterized it as perfidious and ungrateful, appear to adopt an erroneous view of her character. Her stubborn reverence for the church of England, joined to the conviction that an imposture of great moment to her future views had been practised against her, seem to have been quite sufficient to balance a filial

[11] Life of James II. p. 261. The prince, as each instance of defection reached his ear, was in the habit of exclaiming to his father-in-law,—"est il possible?" On the first rumour of his desertion James observed, "so,—est il possible is gone too." Id. Dalrymp. Book vi. p. 202.

[12] Ellis's original Letters, vol. iv. p. 166.

[13] Colly Cibber's Apology, (1822) p. 47. It will not add much to our conviction of the real danger, that the author is pathetic on the subject of the alarm as affecting himself. "Our troops," he says, however, "scrambled to arms in as much order as their consternation would admit of." His account of the flight is amusing.

[14] Hume, &c.

[15] Ellis Cibber.

affection which, like that of her sister, was peculiarly lukewarm;[16] and the decision of the stronger and more designing intellect of the woman who held so firm a mastery over her mind, was quite sufficient to sway her to the step she followed. Lady Churchill planned the method of escape, and was the companion of the princess in her flight; and the intrigues of her, and of her celebrated husband at that period, although intricate and obscure, show the proceedings of this celebrated woman to be the effect of a designing mind, and that her purpose, at that period at least, was to raise her husband in the estimation of William; she acknowledges that she advised the princess to accede to the act of settlement, which admitted the right of William to retain the throne during his life, while she adds a qualification to which few will give credit, that she did so without ambitious views.[17] A little ingenuity might trace the hand of this talented woman through proceedings of deeper duplicity, but our path is not clear, and to avoid injustice we must be content with stating the facts which are authenticated. Soon after the accession of the Prince of Orange, a decided coolness commenced betwixt the two royal sisters, which increased to an almost open rupture, on the friends of the Princess Anne having urged with considerable vehemence the revenue of £50,000, which was assigned to her from the civil list, in 1689. William added indignity to coolness, in his conduct towards Prince George, who made an offer of his services on board the fleet, which was coldly rejected.[18] These circumstances created heartburnings in the breast of Anne, which, with the petty acrimony of a weak mind, she was in the habit of venting in unhandsome epithets, and captious remarks;[19] but when Churchill, then earl of Marlborough, who had performed for William many services, was dismissed from his command, and the countess was ordered no longer to remain at court, the princess Anne preferring friendship to a concurrence with the will of a sister, followed her favourite.[20] The coolness, and the final separation, are founded by the dutchess of Marlborough in her account of her conduct, on some idle disputes about the disposal of the Cockpit. William was not a man to quarrel with a princess about her method of occupying her lodgings, and causes must be found of a nature sufficiently strong to work on the mind of so great a man. The dutchess has very naturally omitted the facts, which documents lately discovered have proved beyond all question, that Marlborough, with Godolphin, his relative by marriage, and his companion in the favour of the princess, conducted during their services to William, a secret correspondence with the court of St Germains.[21] The stigma, if such it may be called, cannot be

[16] For an interesting sketch of the characters of the sisters, see a view of social life in England and France, by the translator of Mad. D.

[17] Account, p. 19.

[18] Coxe's Marlborough, vol. i. p. 48. Account of the Dutchess of Marl. p. 38.

[19] She called him, "The monster, caliban, Dutch abortion." Coxe, vol. i. p. 48. "In some of the Princess Anne's letters, King William is called Dutch monster: Prince George was much neglected by King William while in Ireland with him; was not taken into the king's coach with him, though others were, and never mentioned when there: was not taken to Flanders; nor allowed to go a volunteer to sea." Note in the handwriting of the earl of Marchmont, March, 1732. Marchmont papers, vol. ii. p. 418.

[20] Account.

[21] Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. p. 156. vide also the correspondence commencing at p. 588, where Marlborough is mentioned under the feigned names of 'Gourney,' and 'Amsworth.' See also the authorities referred to by Hallam, vol. iii. p. 168.

removed from the memory of the great warrior; and all that a charitable age can do, is to make allowance for an unsettled state of succession, and an intriguing age. The discovery of these proceedings would have been sufficient of themselves to rouse the indignation of William, and to make him look with jealousy on her who countenanced the traitor; but some have suspected the great general of conduct still darker, and of having acted a double traitor, in having offered, while in the service of William, to assist James, and of then betraying the designs of that prince. Excepting, however, the fears of the Jacobites themselves, and one document containing a charge of peculiar atrocity,[22] little evidence has been brought to confirm the accusation, and justice to the memory of a great man requires us to discard it; nevertheless, it has been ingeniously maintained, that Anne, who had now softened towards her father, had from conviction, compassion, or to serve an end, ceased to maintain the spurious birth of the Prince of Wales, and had written to her father a repentant letter,[23] was made the dupe of such transactions, and that the deep dislike of her sister Mary, which did not relinquish her when its object wished to visit her on her deathbed, can only be accounted for on the supposition, that William and Mary knew that Anne was reconciled to her father, and that she entered into his views of re-mounting the throne. Although it is well known that a letter which the princess wrote to her father,[24] asking if she might accept of the throne, then likely to become quickly vacant, was answered by a negative, it cannot be denied that a good understanding at that time subsisted betwixt the exiled monarch and his daughter; and after his death in 1701, his widow, writing to Anne, uses terms more applicable to one bound by a solemn promise, than under a mere moral obligation.[25]

The death of her father was quickly followed by that of her only son: the duke of Gloucester had been put under the superintendence of the celebrated Bishop Burnet, and if the words of the old prelate, who seems to have dearly loved, and deeply regretted his pupil, are to be relied on, he must have shown talents for acquiring knowledge, of a very high order, and a disposition to be acquainted with subjects not generally understood at so early an age.[26] He was a boy of a delicate constitution, and in his eleventh year he caught a fever, which in four days terminated his life. He had been acknowledged successor to the throne, and the nation joining his talents to his undisputed right, fondly looked forward to an end of the strife of succession, and to the reign of a good and great king. But to the mother, if either ambition or affection had place in her mind, the blow must have been the heaviest

[22] Macpherson, vol. i. p. 280, the confession of Sir George Hewit, accusing Churchill of a design to assassinate James.

[23] Life of James II. p. 476. Hallam, in laying considerable stress on this event, seems to overlook the circumstance that the quarrel had gained its utmost height before this letter was written.

[24] Life of James II. p. 559.

[25] Life of James II. p. 602. "He forgave you all that's past, from the bottom of his heart, (and prayed to God to do so too, that he gave his last blessing and prayer to God to convert your heart) *and confirm you in your resolution of repairing to his son the wrongs done to himself.*" The editor mentions that the portion within parentheses is interlined by the Pretender. It will be observed that the sentence will not read intelligibly without this portion.

[26] Burnet—Edit 1734—vol. iv. p. 403, 470.

which the hand of fate could well strike. "She attended on him, says Burnet, "during his sickness, with great tenderness, but with a grave composedness, that amazed all who saw it: she bore his death with a resignation and piety that were indeed very singular." After this event, in her familiar letters to the countess of Marlborough, she always applied to herself the term, 'your unfortunate Morley.' Anne had born eight immature births, and nine living children; the mother of these was now childless, and those who are partial to such speculations, have supposed the event a just retribution to her who had deserted her parent in his hour of need. No apathy could have resisted the damp which this event must have cast upon her spirits, on her accession to the throne, which took place on the 8th of March, 1702.[27]

Few monarchs have taken more easy possession of a throne, the succession to which admitted of debate, than Anne. She appears to have met the views of all parties. The Whigs of England saw her fulfil the act of settlement, while the Tories felt she was their friend.[28] The Scotch Jacobites hailed the accession of a Stuart,[29] and the unfortunate Irish enjoyed a hope, not fulfilled, that the successor of their conqueror would not rule them by the laws applicable to a nation just subdued;[30] the only persons who seemed to dread the effects of her government were some of the more timid of the Scottish Presbyterians, and the English Dissenters.[31] Most historians have noticed her predilection for the councils of the Tories, and it must be admitted, that Anne at all times showed an adherence to principles of divine right and absolute supremacy, at variance with her own title to possess the throne; but her immediate choice of ministers was more actuated by her dependence on the advice and friendship of her celebrated favourite, than on her political principles. The prince of Denmark being formally appointed generalissimo of all her forces by sea and land,[32] Somers and Halifax, who had enjoyed the confidence of the late king, were dismissed from the council, which was regulated by Marlborough and Godolphin: at the instigation of these celebrated men, the engagements of the late king to pursue the war of the Spanish succession were continued; the latter was appointed lord-treasurer, and the former being appointed captain-general, and honoured with the order of the Garter, was sent as plenipotentiary to the Hague, to deliver the sanction of the queen to the alliance acceded to by her predecessor, and in pursuance of its principles conducted those campaigns which have rendered the reign of Anne renowned. Of the incidents which history connects with the reign of this princess, few belong to her individual biography, for even where she ostensibly acted, we have to discover the influence of some guiding hand, and a multitude of great names connected with politics, literature, and war, claim the credit of the memorable events of that distinguished period. The partiality of the queen towards her favourite continued for a considerable period in all its former warmth, but what might have been previously considered an honourable friendship, dignified by rank on the one hand, and talent on the other, degenerated into a dangerous subjection of the mind of

[27] Somerville.
[28] Smollett, and the other popular historians.
[29] Laing's Scotland, Lockhart.
[30] Gordon's Ireland, vol. ii. p. 184.
[31] Lockhart, Smollett.
[32] Somerville, p. 3.

a queen to the caprice or insolence of a favourite. The first open act of partiality on the part of Anne was a recommendation to the commons to bestow on Marlborough a pension of £5000 per annum; but the commons declined compliance, and would not admit the principle of extravagantly rewarding minor services, reserving their demonstration of gratitude till the more distinguished acts of that great general afterwards called it forth.[33] In the meantime, the queen bestowed on him a dukedom, and he received the thanks of both houses of parliament, an honour which seems to have carried with it an unpleasing condition, from its including the duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke; and from this period his friends have dated the departure of the duke of Marlborough from the councils of the Tories, and his gradual approach to an alliance with the Whigs.[34] With Rochester, the head of the Tory party, Marlborough had early come into collision, and the uncharacteristic objection of that party to the war, impeded his victorious progress, and annoyed the ministry with dissensions. Wearied in spirit by these interruptions, he came to the resolution of resigning his command; but the queen, with her usual vehemence of friendship, forbade the allusion to such an intention:— "We four," she said, (alluding to the Marlboroughs, Godolphin, and herself) "must never part till death mows us down with his impartial hand." "As for your poor unfortunate Morley," she says to the dutchess, "she could not bear it; for if ever you should forsake me, I would have nothing more to do with the world, but make another abdication: for what is a crown when the support of it is gone?" It is rather remarkable, that the plan which Marlborough adopted to preserve his utility to the queen, brought about the circumstances which finally undermined his interest with his mistress. He admitted into the cabinet, as secretaries of state, two individuals professing Whig opinions, in whom he placed confidence, but who were men still more designing than himself, Harley, and Henry St John. But while following the obscure traces of the secret machinations which ruled the councils of Anne, we must not omit some political acts which characterize her reign, and the spirit of her opinions. She is said to have been of a charitable, mild, and benevolent disposition, and it is natural that we should find her employing these qualifications in her conduct to her favourite church. With the assistance and advice of Bishop Burnet, she procured the passing of an act, by which the first fruits, or the revenues of every ecclesiastical preferment for one year, and the tenths of preferments, or a yearly revenue of a tenth part of the emolument of all preferments paid by the incumbent at Christmas, should be restored to the church, from which the act 26th Henry VIII. had taken them, to secure them to the crown, and should be erected into a fund for the augmentation of small livings.[35] The design was doubtless benevolent, but it has been thought by some to have been unsuccessful, and to have only released the rich clergy from a charge to which by law they were liable, while many incumbrances prevented it from having any effect whatever during the lifetime of the queen.[36]

[33] Somerville, p. 32.
[34] Hist. of the Reign of her late Majesty, p. 72.
[35] Act 2d and 3d Anne, ch. ii.
[36] Edinburgh Review, No. XXXVIII. p. 151.

The union of the two kingdoms is an event not to be omitted in a memoir of Queen Anne, as it was a measure for which she discovered an early desire,[37] in the furtherance of which she took a personal interest, overcoming great difficulties, and in the accomplishment of which she indulged in a just pride as the fruit of her own endeavours. The proceedings of the English house of peers, regarding the plot of Lord Lovat, had exasperated the national feeling of the Scotch, as a hostile interference; and many began to fear, not without plausible ground, that the greater nation might assume an aspect of command over the weaker. The legislature, of which part was thus influenced, while a portion looked forward to a Jacobite succession, tacked to the supplies the celebrated act of security, by which a separate successor to the crown might be named for Scotland, and the kingdom armed to defend him. This so far showed to those who valued the Protestant succession, the necessity of an incorporating union, that Godolphin has been suspected of so refined a policy as that of having secretly procured the passing of this act to prove the necessity of the projected union.[38] No salutary measure ever forced its way through greater difficulties than the act of union. Fletcher of Saltoun, a man venerated for his talents and his goodness, and feared on account of the freedom of his political opinions, and Hamilton, Lord Belhaven, one of the most bold and nervous of those orators who have joined reason with passion, united in a conscientious opposition to the measure, founded on no shallow grounds. It had besides to contend with the prejudices of the Scotch people, who could not with patience witness the extinction of a national name which they had been taught to ally with all that is great in genius and glorious in arms: their ceasing to possess as their own king a descendant of that hoary race of monarchs whose origin was suspended from the clouds, and the closing of the doors of their ancient parliament. By a little corruption, some artifice, and considerable perseverance, and by continuing to the Scottish aristocracy the outward form of their ancient power, the measure was carried, in opposition to the voice of a nation, and the opinion of a teeming press.[39] In feeling the utility of the measure, and looking back on its progress, we are astonished that it ever overcame the array set against it. For some time its operation afforded matter of triumph to its opponents. Additional measures, in pursuance of its spirit, produced heartburnings, which it cannot be said that the conduct of the more powerful nation contributed to alleviate. During the reign of Anne, those who had been the best promoters of the measure chose to move its recall, but the attempt failed: it was long before any of its benefits were acknowledged beyond the council-table, or even felt: it is probably a measure of which the excellent effects will increase with its age, until it be remembered when the victories of Marlborough are forgotten.

There are other matters, however, in this reign which present a less noble aspect to the historical inquirer. The disputes betwixt the two houses on the Aylesbury election, and other subjects, are more con-

[37] Culloden Papers, p. 29.
[38] Laing, vol. iv. p. 304. Sir S. Clerk's MS. Notes on Lockhart's Mem.
[39] Laing. Lockhart. De Foe. Works of Fletcher of Saltoun. Speeches, and Pamphlets of the Period, passim.

nected with the constitutional history than with the personal memoir of the queen; but it must be remarked, that the opposition frequently made to liberal principles, and the indecorous opinions on divine right and prerogative, which created so much confusion and danger, would probably have slept in the bosoms of their enlightened projectors, had they not been encouraged from the throne. The crime, if such it may be called, which caused the measures against Sacheverell, was not in the propagation of absurdities by a man of a weak intellect and heated brain, but in the acts of those who maintained the speculative doctrine of divine right for the furtherance of their own dark or selfish motives, and above all, of those who tried to gain their end by uniting it with religion.[40] The alleged danger of the church, or, as it appeared in their eyes, the danger of the Christian religion, fired the minds of the populace, as a false tale of injuries may be said to rouse the feelings of a passionate man, and the people were on the eve of breaking out into open rebellion in vindication of the doctrine of passive obedience. To draw the line where opinions begin to point so strongly at the existing government that the authors of them must be prosecuted for the preservation of the general peace, is a nice point; it is perhaps most safe to lean towards a feeling of the sacredness of opinion, and probably the experience of statesmen can show few instances where such measures have produced beneficial effects. Perhaps there is hardly a case which will admit of more justification than the prosecution of Sacheverell, and yet its propriety is somewhat doubtful, and the irritation it gave to the public mind, along with the slight punishment the peers felt themselves compelled to award, must have made those connected with the transaction feel that they were treading on unsteady ground. But if the prosecution was a matter of doubtful propriety, there can be but one opinion as to the conduct of the queen. Her private attendance on the trial, the adulation she accepted from the turbulent multitude, her cool contempt for the suggestions of the commons, and the final promotion to a rich benefice of the contemptible object of disturbance, show a monarch conniving at defiance of the laws, and too narrow in her intellect to feel the truth of the grand political principle by which she had been placed on the throne, while she would not risk an open avowal of her principles.[41]

In the meantime, a change in the friendly feelings of the queen towards the dutchess of Marlborough, produced a strong effect on the policy of Europe. The dutchess would have made a great queen, and being so much connected with the guidance of a royal will, it may well be supposed that her interference and haughtiness became too great even for the temper of Queen Anne. Abigail Hill, a connexion of her own, and appointed by her one of the bed-chamber women, was the person who supplanted the proud dutchess in the affections of the queen. This woman, better known as Mrs Masham, was also distantly related to Harley; and that wily intriguer, on her coming under the notice of the queen, condescended to pay his respects to a relative he had previously neglected, and was introduced to the favour of the queen, to whom he was in the habit, through the intervention of Abigail, of paying secret visits. It is difficult to follow the windings of

[40] Vide Lockhart Papers, vol. i. p. 310.
[41] Smollett.—Somerville, p. 373, &c.—Burnet, p. 1066, &c.—State Trials, vol. xv.

some politicians of this age. Harley had early distinguished himself as a Tory; along with Henry St John he was admitted to the councils of Marlborough as a Whig, but both turned themselves secretly round to the ways of Toryism. Improper conduct, which had taken place in the deportment of Harley, probably accidental as far as respected himself, interrupted the smoothness of their progress. The duke of Marlborough had still influence sufficient to clear the council of those who became more openly his opponents, but from the period when the queen was compelled to accede to such a measure, the displeasure of her stubborn mind was unchangeably turned against Marlborough. For two years the country was governed by a purely Whig ministry, but Marlborough fell into disgrace from opposing a scandalous promotion of a relation of Mrs Masham. The dutchess strove to revive the spirit of their ancient friendship, but the queen was obdurate, the Whigs were dismissed, and a new administration was headed by Rochester, St John, and Harley. The queen then called for a resignation of the offices of the dutchess. The duke interceded for delay in a measure carrying with it so deep a reflection; but, with the obstinacy which little minds mistake for firmness, Anne refused this small favour to her ancient friend, though the warrior had condescended to beg it on his knees.[42] The treaty of peace, so advantageous to France, which was ratified by the Tory ministry of Anne, has been well canvassed, and is not a subject for discussion in so brief a memoir; it must, however, be admitted, on an impartial review, that the terms obtained by Britain were not such as would have justified the bloodshed by which they were purchased; and that however certainly peace is always accompanied by blessings, it is a degrading thought, that all which the ambition of one woman had drained the best blood of the land to obtain, was relinquished by the intrigues of another.

Queen Anne survived for a considerable period the death of her husband, which took place in the year 1708. During the latter days of her reign the kingdom was in a state of excitement from the dangers of a disputed succession, and few subjects have been more hotly agitated than the question, whether or not what is called the protestant succession was then in danger. Although those who knew well the councils of the times have left behind them solemn declarations of the integrity of the intentions of the government,[43] and its designs have been defended by writers who cannot be called partial,[44] now, when time has softened the bitterness of party feeling on the subject, and perhaps diminished our ideas of the guilt of such an attempt, few will deny that the Tories of the latter days of Queen Anne held a correspondence with the court of St Germains, nor can Godolphin and some of his party be entirely acquitted of a similar charge.[45] That the queen countenanced such proceedings we have no evidence but the remarks and speculations of some sanguine Jacobites,[46] and it is probable that her sentiments on this

[42] Coxe, vol. iii. p. 351.

[43] Bolingbroke's State of Parties at the accession of Geo. I., Works, vol. iii. p. 140.—Swift's Free Thoughts upon the present state of affairs, Works, vol. v. p. 405.

[44] Somerville, p. 573, &c.

[45] Macpherson's Papers; and some obscure hints in Lockhart's Commentaries.—Memoirs of the duke of Berwick.—Carte.—And compare Laing, vol. iv. p. 383.

[46] Perhaps the clearest (yet still extremely dubious) passage on this point may be found in the Lockhart Papers, vol. i. p. 317. It is remarkable, but too long for extraction. Hallam refers to it, and seems to give it rather more than its due weight.

point may remain as dubious as she seems to have wished them to be. The last days of the queen were imbittered by dissensions in her cabinet, which she in vain tried to assuage. On the 29th of July, 1714, she contracted a lethargic disorder, which made such rapid progress, that next day her life was despaired of. She continued in a state of lethargy and unconsciousness, with few intervals, until the 1st day of August, when she expired, in the 50th year of her age and in the 13th of her reign. It was her misfortune that her best qualities were those which least became a queen. Her warmth of friendship might have ornamented private life, but it sullied her conduct as a queen. Her benevolence acquired for her the honourable term of 'The good Queen Anne,' and was such as with opulence might have blessed a neighbourhood, but in a kingdom she had not the genius to make it useful.

George I.

BORN A. D. 1660.—DIED A. D. 1727.

THE ancestors of the house of Brunswick were connected, at an early period, with the royal family of England, by the marriage of Henry, surnamed the Lion, to Matilda, daughter of Henry II., from whom George I. was lineally descended. Ernest Augustus, the first duke of Hanover, was married in 1658 to Sophia, daughter of Frederick, king of Bohemia, by Elizabeth, the daughter of James I. of England The Princess Sophia was a woman of great beauty and vigorous intellect. She was the friend and protector of Leibnitz and other learned men of her day. She spoke five languages, including English, so well, that by her accent it was doubtful which of them was her native tongue. The succession of her family to the throne of England had long been her darling object, and her death has been attributed to the chagrin she felt at her son's intended visit to England being strongly deprecated by Queen Anne.

Her son, George Lewis, was born at Hanover on the 28th of May, 1660. Judging from the accomplishments of his mother, it might have been expected that his education would have been careful and complete; but the contrary was the fact. His father, Ernest, though a man of some talent, had little admiration for scholastic acquirements, and probably connived at his inattention to study, which must have been gross indeed, as he never acquired even the language of the people over whom, by the provisions of the act for securing a protestant succession, he expected to reign! His morals, too, were most culpably neglected, and his habits and ideas at length became exceedingly depraved. In the twenty-second year of his age he was united, against his inclinations, to the Princess Sophia Dorothea, then about sixteen. The unfortunate princess was neglected, if not hated, by her husband, almost from the day of their marriage; and, for a period of ten years, during which she gave birth to two children, afterwards George II., king of England, and Sophia Dorothea, queen of Prussia, she is said to have endured a series of indignities which were as irritating as they were unmerited.

On the death of his father in 1698, George succeeded to the elec-

torate, and rather a favourable change took place in his character; so that he acquired a degree of respectability, which, from his previous follies, could scarcely have been anticipated. He was placed at the head of the imperial army, after the battle of Blenheim; but the jealousies of his confederates induced him to give up his command, after having retained it during three campaigns.

It was late in the evening of the 5th of August, 1714, that Lord Clarendon, the English ambassador at the court of Hanover, having received an express announcing the demise of Queen Anne, repaired, with all possible haste, to the palace of Herenhausen; at two hours after midnight he entered the chamber of the elector. and, kneeling, saluted him king of Great Britain; but the ambassador's homage, it appears, was received with mortifying serenity. The sovereign appeared to be exceedingly secure of his new subjects, for when some one in his presence spoke of the dangerous principles of the presbyterians, and alluded to the death of Charles I., he replied, with a pleasant indifference, "I have nothing to fear, for the king-killers are all on my side." He seemed in no haste to leave Herenhausen, nor did he commence his journey till the 31st of August. On the eve of his departure, he ordered the excise on provisions to be abolished, and the insolvent debtors throughout the electorate to be discharged. He reached the Hague on the 5th of September, but did not embark until the 16th, and arrived at Greenwich on the 18th of the same month. He made his public entry into London on the 20th; and his coronation took place, with the usual solemnities, on the 20th of October.

At the first court which he held he treated some of the late queen's ministers with marked contempt, and others with coldness. Lord Oxford was permitted to kiss the king's hand, but received no further notice. Chancellor Harcourt, who had prepared and brought with him a patent for creating the king's eldest son prince of Wales, was forthwith turned out of his office. The duke of Ormond, who was captain-general, and had come with great splendour to pay his court, was informed that the king had no occasion for his services, and was not allowed even to come into the royal presence. Pursuant to an order despatched by the king previously to his departure from Hanover, Bolingbroke had been already dismissed; and his majesty appeared bent on depressing, as much as possible, all the open and secret enemies of his house.

In the early part of his reign, or at least on his arrival in this country, George I. was far from being unpopular; but his decidedly foreign appearance and manners, when they became known, lowered him materially in public estimation. His two German mistresses, who were created dutchess of Kendal and countess of Darlington, shortly after his accession, became seriously offensive to the people. Nor does the king appear to have been infinitely delighted with his new subjects; he sighed for his beloved electorate, and spoke and acted like a man ill at ease in a strange house, and longing to be at home again. "This is a very odd country!" said he. "The first morning after my arrival at St James's, I looked out of the window and saw a park with walls, and a canal, which they told me were mine. The next day Lord Chetwynd, the ranger of my park, sent me a brace of fine carp out of my canal; and I was told I must give five guineas to Lord Chetwynd's man for bringing me my own carp out of my own canal in my own park!"

One of the most important circumstances in the early part of this king's reign was the impeachment of some of the tory leaders for the share they had taken in the treaty of Utrecht; and their conduct was visited, in the opinion of a still large and powerful party, with unnecessary rigour. Inflammatory papers were circulated to a great extent against the new monarch; various parts of the country were agitated by tumults; and, at length, about the middle of September, in 1715, the earl of Mar proclaimed the pretender as James III. at Castletown in Scotland. He soon collected an army of ten thousand men, and an insurrection followed in Northumberland, under the earl of Derwentwater; but that nobleman was compelled, in the early part of November, to surrender, with many of his partisans. On the same day a bloody, but indecisive battle was fought at Sheriffmoor, between Mar and the duke of Argyle. On the 25th of December, the pretender landed at Peterhead; but he displayed so little judgment, his plans were so ill arranged, and the insurrection in his favour met with such faint support from the English Jacobites, that, in the February following, he found it prudent to re-embark for France. A terrible scene of blood and vengeance ensued; the meaner throng of prisoners suffered without exciting much sympathy; but on the condemnation of the Lords Derwentwater, Nairne, and Nithsdale, with many other noblemen, a universal sentiment of compassion prevailed. To his eternal honour, Duncan Forbes, then advocate-depute, though he and his family had distinguished themselves by their exertions to put down the pretender, refused to go into England to act as public prosecutor of the Scots rebels, taken in arms in that country. Nor did he content himself with barely declining a task which most other men would have eagerly undertaken as the high road to advancement: he even composed and transmitted, to Sir Robert Walpole, an energetic memorial against the injustice and impolicy of treating the rebels as the ministry were about to do. In consequence of divers petitions presented to the house of peers, a motion was made and carried by a majority of five voices, that the house should address the throne to reprieve such of the condemned lords as really deserved mercy. But the king haughtily answered, that on this and all other occasions he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of the crown and the safety of the people.

In 1716, the disaffection to the house of Brunswick induced its staunch adherents, the whigs, who were in office, to propose the famous septennial act, by which a power was assumed, not merely of increasing the duration of future parliaments, but even of prolonging the existence of that assembly by which it was enacted: so that, although only elected by the nation for three years, it conferred on itself the power of sitting for seven. This iniquitous and totally indefensible bill, after a long and violent struggle, was passed, and of course received the royal assent.

In 1717, the king and his ministers were exceedingly unpopular. Oaken-boughs worn on the 29th of May, and white roses on the 10th of June, the birth-day of the pretender, were the badges of the disaffected. Oxford, and especially the university, was the focus of disloyalty; and it was deemed expedient to send a military force there, in order to prevent any seditious or treasonable attempts. Cambridge

being more complaisant, received a royal present of books; and Dr Trapp wrote the following epigram on the occasion:—

Our royal master saw, with heedful eyes,
The wants of his two universities:
Troops he to Oxford sent, as knowing why
That learned body wanted loyalty;
But books to Cambridge gave, as well discerning
How that right loyal body wanted learning.

Sir William Browne thus retorted, as it was said, impromptu:—

The king to Oxford sent a troop of horse,
For tories know no argument but force;
With equal care, to Cambridge books he sent,
For whigs allow no force but argument.

In this year, the king being desirous of visiting Hanover, appointed a committee of the privy council to consider in what manner it might be most adviseable to settle the regency in the event of his determining to spend some part of the year in Hanover. The ministers gave their opinion with great freedom against the journey, but declared that, in the event of his majesty persisting in his intentions, no other person could be proposed for the regency than the prince of Wales. The appointment was accordingly made; and the prince acquired so much popularity by his administration as regent, as to excite the jealousy of his father towards him on his return. He is even said to have meditated a scheme for the exclusion of his heir-apparent from the succession.

In 1718, a plan was formed to assassinate the king by a political fanatic, named James Shepherd, a youth under nineteen years of age. He had imbibed from childhood the highest principles of monarchical right; and, regarding George the First as an usurper, he had coolly resolved to put him to death. On the 24th of January he wrote to one Leake, a nonjuring clergyman, that he was certain, if the reigning prince were removed, the true king—meaning the pretender—might be restored without bloodshed. He offered to invite his majesty home; and on his arrival, promised to smite the usurper in his palace. He owned the chance of his suffering a cruel death, and that he might the better support it, desired to receive the holy sacrament daily until he made the attempt. Leake, much alarmed, carried the letter to a magistrate, and Shepherd was apprehended. He gloried in his design, and said it had been three years in his contemplation. On his trial he disdained to make any defence, but owned the truth of the charge, and declared he died a willing martyr to his principles. At the place of execution he was publicly absolved by Arne, a nonjuring priest, and died with great firmness. His political fanaticism seems to have amounted so clearly to positive insanity, that a cell in a madhouse would have been much more proper for him than a halter at Tyburn.

Few circumstances in the reign of George the First were more remarkable than the formation and bursting of the South Sea bubble. On the 7th of April, 1720, an act was passed, investing the South Sea company with power to take in, by purchase and subscription, both the redeemable and unredeemable debts of the nation to the amount of thirty-three millions, at such rates as should be settled between the company

and the respective proprietors. In return, the company consented that the interest on their original capital of nine millions four hundred thousand pounds, as well as the interest on the public debt, should after midsummer, 1727, be reduced to four per cent., and be redeemable by parliament. Exclusive of this reduction, the company were to pay into the exchequer four years and a half purchase of all the long and short annuities that should be subscribed, and one year's purchase of such long annuities as should not be subscribed, amounting to seven millions sterling: for raising which sum they were empowered to open books of subscription, to grant redeemable annuities, and to convert the money so raised into additional stock. The dangers of the project soon appeared; a wild spirit of speculation seized the whole nation; the successive subscriptions filled with amazing rapidity, and the directors declared a dividend of thirty per cent. for Christmas, 1720, and fifty per cent. for the next twelve years. The transfer price of stock rose in a very short time from one hundred and thirty to one thousand; so that those who were in the secret of the plot were enabled to realize vast fortunes before the bubble burst. In a few months the stock fell with greater rapidity than it had risen, and the victims, awaking from their golden dreams, found themselves reduced to a deplorable state of distress and ruin. The king, being in Germany when the catastrophe happened, was sent for express, to discuss with his ministers the means of quelling the disturbances it had occasioned, and of restoring public credit, which it had almost destroyed. A committee of the house of commons proceeded with great diligence to investigate this disastrous affair, which was styled in the report, a train of the deepest villany and fraud hell ever contrived for the ruin of any nation. It appeared that a great number of the parliamentary supporters of the bill had been bribed by its unprincipled projectors, and the profits of the company were found to amount to thirteen millions. Some of the guilty parties were heavily mulcted, and many judicious steps were taken to relieve their dupes; but the public credit had sustained an injury which it did not recover for many years. It is curious that France had but just recovered from the effect of a similar misfortune, in the rise and fall of the Mississippi company, projected by the famous Law.

In 1722, the partizans of the pretender began once more to bestir themselves in his favour, on the supposition, doubtless, that the shock produced by the failure of the South Sea project would be favourable to their designs. The measures of government, however, were at once so judicious and prompt, that the conspiracy was crushed in embryo. Several noblemen were arrested on suspicion; Bishop Atterbury was exiled for life; but only one person, Christopher Layer, a barrister of the Temple, suffered capital punishment. He was convicted of high-treason, in enlisting men for the service of the pretender. At this period a very disgraceful tax of £100,000 was levied on the estates of Roman catholics.

In May, 1725, George I. revived the ancient order of the Bath, which had lain dormant since the coronation of Charles II. In January, 1726, the king encountered a violent storm at sea on his return from his yearly visit to Hanover; he was in great danger for two days, and landed with extreme difficulty at Rye in Sussex. It would be difficult to give a stronger proof of his attachment to the electorate than the alacrity he

displayed in hastening to his beloved country the moment he could detach himself from the burthen of public business. These visits naturally excited discontent in England, and produced several satirical effusions against the monarch, his ministers, and his mistresses; among which was a poem entitled 'The Regency,' written by Samuel, brother of the celebrated John Wesley. Of this production—which appears to have obtained more notice than it deserved—the following is a specimen:—

As soon as the wind it came fairly about,
That kept the king in, and his enemies out,
He determined no longer confinement to bear,
And thus to the dutchess his mind did declare:
Quoth he, 'My dear KENNY, I've been tired a long while
With living obscure in this poor little isle;
And now Spain and Pretender have no more mines to spring,
I'm resolved to go home and live like a king.'

The dutchess, in reply, approves of the monarch's intentions; and after ludicrously describing the regency by which the kingdom was to be governed during his absence, she says,

'On the whole, I'll be hanged, if all over the realm
There are thirteen such fools to be put to the helm;
So for this time be easy, nor have jealous thought,
They hav'nt sense to sell you, nor are worth being bought.'
'Tis for that,' quoth the king, in very bad French,
'I chose them for my regents, and you for my wench;
And neither, I'm sure, will my trust e'er betray,
For the devil won't take you if I turn you away.'

Notwithstanding the danger which had attended his return from Germany in 1726, in the following summer, although now an old man, the king determined on visiting his electorate. He accordingly embarked at Greenwich on the 3d of June, and landed in Holland on the 7th. In the progress of his journey he was attacked with a kind of lethargic paralysis, which he foresaw would be speedily mortal, and exclaimed to his attendant, "I am a dead man!" But his desire to reach his electoral capital was so great, that he caused himself to be carried on to Osnaburg. Having lost all sense and motion on his arrival at that place, his further progress was impossible, and he died on the 11th of June, 1727, in the sixty-eighth year of his age and the thirteenth of his reign. He was buried at Hanover on the 3d of the following September.

"The person of the king," says Walpole, "is as perfect in my memory as if I saw him but yesterday: it was that of an elderly man, rather pale, and exactly like his pictures and coins—not tall—of an aspect rather good than august—with a dark tie wig, a plain coat, waistcoat, breeches of snuff-coloured cloth, with stockings of the same colour, and a blue riband over all." His own grand-daughter, the princess of Bareuth, in her 'Memoires,' characterizes him as a very stupid man, with great airs of wisdom. He had no generosity, she says, but for his favourites and the mistresses by whom he let himself be governed; he spoke little, and took no pleasure in hearing any thing but niaiseries: since his accession to the throne of England, she adds, he had also become insupportably haughty and imperious. In his old age the king was guilty of the wickedness and folly of taking an additional mistress. This person was Anne Brett, eldest daughter, by her second husband,

of the repudiated wife of the earl of Macclesfield, the unnatural mother of Savage the poet. We learn from Walpole that Miss Brett was very handsome, but dark enough, by her eyes, complexion, and hair, for a Spanish beauty, and that a coronet was to have rewarded her compliance, had not the king died before it could be granted. He appears to have entertained a very low opinion of the political integrity of his courtiers and the honesty of his household. He laughed at the complaints of Sir Robert Walpole against the Hanoverians for selling places; and would not believe that the custom was not sanctioned by his English advisers and attendants. Soon after his first arrival in this country, a favourite cook whom he had brought from Hanover, grew melancholy, and wanted to return home. The king having inquired why he wished to quit his household, the fellow replied, "I have long served your majesty honestly, not suffering any thing to be embezzled in your kitchen, but here, the dishes no sooner come from your table, than one steals a fowl, another a pig, a third a joint of meat, a fourth a pie, and so on, till the whole is gone; and I cannot bear to see your majesty so injured!" The king laughing heartily, said, "My revenues here enable me to bear these things; and, to reconcile you to your place, do you steal like the rest, and mind you take enough!" The cook followed this advice, and soon became a very expert and flourishing thief.

About a year before the king's own death, that of his unfortunate consort, the princess of Zell, took place; and her royal husband most iniquitously caused her will, together with that of her father, the duke of Zell, to be burned, in order, as it was believed, to deprive his own son. the prince of Wales, of some important bequests. Walpole declares, that he had this fact from Queen Caroline. A female fortune-teller had warned George the First to take care of his wife, as he would not survive her a year, and the king gave such credit to the prediction, that on the eve of his last departure to the continent, he took leave of his son and the princess of Wales with tears, telling them that he should never see them more. It was certainly his own fate that melted him, says Walpole, not the thought of quitting for ever two persons he hated. He did his son the justice to say, "Il est fongueux, mais il a de l'honneur;" but for Caroline, he termed her, to his confidants, "Cette diablesse, madame la princesse!" About the same period, in a tender mood, he promised the dutchess of Kendal, that if she survived him, and it were possible for the departed to return to this world, he would make her a visit. The dutchess on his death so much expected the accomplishment of this engagement, that a large raven, or some black fowl, flying into one of the windows of her villa at Isleworth, she was persuaded it was the soul of her departed monarch so accoutred, and received and treated it with great respect and tenderness.

George the First evidently possessed no taste either for literature or science. He had, however, a really German ear for music, and warmly patronized Handel. His military talents appear to have been respectable; and the manner in which he managed his electorate before he became king of England, was highly creditable to his judgment. Toland says, in a pamphlet published about the year 1705, "I need give no more particular proof of his frugality in laying out the public money, than that all the expenses of his court, as to eating, drinking, fire, candles, and the like, are duly paid every Saturday night; the officers

of his army receive their pay every month, and all the civil list are cleared every half year." He was greatly annoyed, however, by the want of confidence in his economy displayed by his British subjects, lamenting to his private friends that he had left his electorate to become a begging king; and adding, that he thought it very hard to be constantly opposed in his application for supplies, which it was his intention to employ for the benefit of the nation.

The various treaties in which he engaged are so numerous and uninteresting, that it would be needlessly trespassing on the reader's patience to detail the whole of them. The chief objects of his foreign policy seem to have been the enlargement of his electoral dominions, and the counteraction of attempts threatened, or made, by continental powers in favour of the pretender. The struggles of political parties during this reign are amply detailed in our memoirs of the party-leaders of the period.

James Frederick Edward Stuart.

BORN A. D. 1688.—DIED A. D. 1766.

The parents of this unfortunate prince were James II., and Maria D'Este, sister to Francis, duke of Modena, who were united in 1673. The bride was then only in her fifteenth year, by no means beautiful, and so poor, that the king of France paid her marriage-portion. For the first fourteen years of her marriage she had no children; but, on the 10th of June, 1688, she was delivered of a son. The birth of a prince of Wales excited an extraordinary ferment in the nation: the catholics gloried in the event, but the majority of the protestants broadly insinuated that the pretended heir-apparent was not the queen's child. One party asserted that she had never been pregnant; a second insisted that she had miscarried; and a third allowed that she had born a son, but contended that the royal infant had died soon after its birth. The story of the supposititious birth of the son of James II. appears, however, to have been utterly destitute of foundation. On the 15th of October, the young prince was christened James Frederick Edward. On account of the gloomy aspect of affairs in this country, the queen withdrew with him to France early in the following month; and before the year closed, his father had ceased to be a reigning king.

The exiled monarch died at St Germains on the 16th of September, 1701. Just before his dissolution took place, he conjured the young prince, in the most earnest manner, "never to barter his salvation for a crown, or to let any worldly views wean him from his attachment to the holy catholic faith." In pursuance of a pledge which Louis XIV. had given the expiring monarch, James Frederick was, immediately after his father's demise, acknowledged king of England by the French court. The pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy, did him the same empty honour; but no steps were taken to procure his restoration. In England acts of attainder were passed against him, and also against his mother, who, however, succeeded in obtaining £50,000 as a composition for the unpaid balance of her dowry, by means of a suit in chancery.

The acts of attainder were followed by the introduction of a bill abjuring the pretender, and declaring William III. to be rightful king of these realms; against the passing of which, however, several members, in both houses, solemnly and vehemently protested. During the reign of Queen Anne, the Jacobite party in the country increased, as well in political influence as members, especially after the change of administration and of principles in 1710. It is highly probable, that had Anne possessed the power of peremptorily nominating her successor, James Frederick would have ascended the throne on her demise. In 1706 he sent over an agent, named Hooke, to confer with his adherents in England and Scotland, and they, in return, despatched a Captain Stratton as their representative to his little court at St Germains. At this time, although his friends, the tories, "were for keeping quiet during the queen's life," the Scotch Jacobites evinced a strong inclination to rise in his behalf, and an insurrection would probably have taken place, had not Stratton failed in obtaining any assurance of help from Louis, whose arms were then fully employed by the forces under Marlborough. In 1707 Jacobitism was openly professed in all the chief cities in Scotland, and the rejoicings in Edinburgh on James Frederick's birth-day were as open and general as though he had been seated on the throne. In 1708 the French king secretly fitted out an expedition against Scotland at Dunkirk. Madame de Maintenon writes to the Princess Ursini, under date the 4th March, 1708: "The king of England is to set out on the 9th, and to embark at Dunkirk for Scotland on the 10th. The king gives him 6000 men. The Scotch lads have written repeatedly that they will receive him. If God blesses this enterprise it will make a great decision, and perhaps peace. If you have any saints in Spain, let them pray for its success." Under date the 25th of March, she again writes, "The expedition to Scotland interests all the world. Every one here was full of consternation at the delay, and is rejoiced at the king of England's sailing." The expedition, however, as related in our introductory historical chapter, was compelled to return to France without having landed a single soldier in Scotland. Shortly afterwards the chevalier joined the French army in Flanders, and appeared in arms against those whose allegiance he claimed at the battle of Oudenarde.

Humbled by defeat, Louis at length offered to acknowledge Queen Anne as rightful sovereign of these kingdoms, and no longer to afford the chevalier an asylum in France. No pacification, however, was effected, and James Frederick still continued to reside at St Germains. In Scotland, he had lost none of his adherents; and they continued to display their sentiments in his favour with an audacity which appears, at that time, to have been by no means remarkable. In 1711 the dutchess of Gordon sent a medallion portrait of him to the faculty of advocates at Edinburgh; and, on a discussion taking place as to the propriety of receiving it, the meeting decided by a large majority,—sixty-three against twelve,—that the dutchess should be thanked, in the warmest terms, "for having presented them with a medal of their sovereign lord the king." Soon after the peace of Utrecht, the French minister at the Hague declared that his sovereign would no longer countenance the chevalier, or any of his adherents; and when, on the death of Queen Anne, James Frederick posted to Versailles, "he

wished," says Madame de Maintenon, "to set out, as soon as he had heard the accident, and our queen of England had the courage to assent to his plan." Louis, however, not only refused to see him, but requested that he would immediately quit the French territories. "I am surprised," added he, "at the chevalier's return to my dominions, knowing, as he does, my engagements with the house of Hanover, and that I have already acknowledged George the First."

The chevalier appears to have indulged a sanguine hope that he should have succeeded Queen Anne; but notwithstanding several meetings were held for the purpose of procuring a repeal of the act of settlement, and of conferring on her majesty the right of appointing a successor,—and although he possessed a number of powerful friends in this country,—nothing decisive was effected on his behalf, and his cause was ruined as much by the dissensions of the tories as by the skilful and energetic measures of the elector of Hanover's whig supporters. On the day before the arrival of George I. at Greenwich, a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of £100,000 for the apprehension of the pretender, on the event of his landing in this country. Soon afterwards, James Frederick sent copies of a spirited declaration of his rights to most of the English nobility. These documents being dated at Plombières, in the territories of the duke of Lorraine, the latter received a remonstrance from England for harbouring the personal enemy of the king. The duke replied with civility, but still permitted the chevalier to reside in Lorraine.

The zeal of the Scotch Jacobites, on behalf of the exiled prince, was materially increased by their antipathy to the reigning monarch; and at length, early in September, 1715, he was proclaimed king at Castletown, and his standard set up by the earl of Mar. A large body of his adherents speedily assembled; many parts of England, as well as a large portion of Scotland, were decidedly in his favour; he was openly proclaimed in Cornwall; and at Oxford he was so popular, that a collegian there thus addressed one of his friends in London:—"We fear nothing, but drink King James's health daily." "The Scots," says Bolingbroke, who at that time was the chevalier's secretary of state, "had long pressed him to come amongst them, and had sent frequent messages to quicken his departure, some of which were delivered in terms more zealous than respectful."

At length on the 22d of December, 1715, he arrived at Peterhead, in the north of Scotland, "when," says Bolingbroke, "there remained no hope of a commotion in his favour among the English, and many of the Scots began to grow cool in his cause. No prospect of success could engage him in this expedition, but it was become necessary for his reputation. The Scotch reproached him for his delay, and the French were extremely eager to have him gone." From Peterhead he proceeded apparently at his leisure with a few adherents, who, as well as himself, were disguised as naval officers, through Newburgh and Aberdeen to Fetteresso, where he was met by about thirty noblemen, including the earl of Mar, and a small party of horse. Having issued a declaration, he sent copies of it all over Scotland, and many of the constituted authorities thought proper to publish it in obedience to his orders. On the 2d of January he quitted Fetteresso, and on the 5th made his entry into Dundee. He then issued several proclamations, by

one of which he appointed his coronation to take place on the 23d of January, and called a grand council, to whom he delivered the following speech:—"I am now, on your repeated invitation, come amongst you. No other argument need be used of the great confidence I place in your loyalty and fidelity to me, which I entirely rely on. I believe you are convinced of my intentions to restore the ancient laws and liberties of this kingdom; if not, I am still ready to confirm to you the assurance of doing all you can require therein. The great discouragements which presented were not sufficient to deter me from placing myself at the head of my faithful subjects, who were in arms for me; and whatever may ensue, I shall leave them no reason for complaint, that I have not done the utmost they could expect from me. Let those who forget their duty, and are negligent of their own good, be answerable for the worst that may happen. For me it will be no new thing if I am unfortunate. My whole life, even from my cradle, has shown a constant series of misfortunes; and I am prepared—if so it please God—to suffer the threats of my enemies and yours. The preparations against us will, I hope, quicken your resolutions, and convince others, from whom I have promises, that it is now no time to dispute what they have to do. But if they are mindful of their own safety, it will be my great comfort that I have done all that could be expected from me. I recommend to you what is necessary to be done in the present conjuncture, and, next to God, rely on your counsel and resolution."

This address produced a flash of enthusiasm in the council, which, however, reflection speedily extinguished; and before the meeting broke up it was determined the enterprise should be abandoned, as being utterly hopeless. But it was necessary, for the chevalier's safety, that the people should not become acquainted with the results of their leaders' deliberations, until the chevalier had effected a retreat. Preparations for the defence of Perth, against the approaching royal army, were therefore made; some villages in the outskirts were even burnt, on the ostensible motive that a besieging force might occupy them to the imminent danger of the town; and expresses were sent out to hurry in all the expected reinforcements. It appears, that although without money, food, or arms, the chevalier wished to maintain Perth, or even to hazard a battle. "The enemy," says the earl of Mar, "was more than eight thousand strong, and we had but two thousand five hundred that could be relied on; we were in the midst of a severe winter; were without fuel, and the town was utterly indefensible. We therefore retired to Montrose, where there is a good harbour. It was now represented to the chevalier, that as he had no immediate hope of success, he owed it to his people to provide for his safety, by retiring beyond sea. It was hard to bring him to think of this, though the enemy was in full march towards us, and our only chance was to retreat among the mountains; besides, that while he was with us, the danger to all parties was increased, owing to their eagerness to seize his person. At length he consented, though with great unwillingness, and I dare say no consent he ever gave was so uneasy to him."

After having forwarded to the duke of Argyle, the king's general, a considerable sum for the relief of those whose property had been destroyed in the burnt villages near Perth, he directed that nearly all the remainder of his money should be distributed among his adherents,

reserving little or nothing for himself. Fearing some obstruction to his departure, he ordered his horses and guard to be drawn up in front of the house where he lodged, as though he intended to proceed on the march with his forces. He then slipped out at the back door, and having reached the water-side undiscovered, embarked with those whom he had selected as the companions of his flight, on board a small vessel, which had been destined to carry a gentleman on an embassy to some foreign court. After a voyage of five days, although nine men-of-war were cruizing off the coast to prevent his escape, he arrived, on the 8th of February, in safety at Gravelines.

"The chevalier," says Bolingbroke, "was not above six weeks in his expedition. On his return to St Germains, the French government wished him to repair to his old asylum with the duke of Lorraine before he had time to refuse it. But nothing was meant by this but to get him out of France immediately. I found him in no disposition to make such haste, for he had a mind to stay in the neighbourhood of Paris, and wished to have a private meeting with the regent. This was refused; and the chevalier at length declared that he would instantly set out for Lorraine. His trunks were packed, his chaise was ordered to be ready at five that afternoon, and I sent word to Paris that he was gone. At our interview he affected much cordiality towards me, and no Italian ever embraced the man he was going to stab with a greater show of affection and confidence. Instead of taking post for Lorraine, he went to the little house in the Bois de Boulogne, where his female ministers resided; and there he continued lurking for several days, pleasing himself with the air of mystery and business, while the only real business which he should have had at that time lay neglected. The Thursday following, the duke of Ormond brought me a scrap of paper in the chevalier's handwriting, and dated on the Tuesday, to make me believe it was written on the road, and sent back to his grace. The kingly laconic style of the paper was, that he had no further occasion for my services, accompanied by an order to deliver up all the papers in my office to Ormond, all which might have been contained in a moderate sized letter-case. Had I literally complied with the order, the duke would have seen, from his private letters, how meanly the chevalier thought of his capacity; but I returned these papers privately."

Notwithstanding the failure of his recent attempt in Scotland, the chevalier still possessed a great number of well wishers on both sides of the Tweed. Oxford was still eminently disloyal, white roses, the avowed symptom of Jacobitism being openly worn there on James Frederick's birth-day. Having been compelled at the instance of George I. to retire from Avignon, which he had for some time made his place of residence, the chevalier crossed the Alps, and repaired to Rome, where he was received with great cordiality by the pope. In 1718–19, Cardinal Alberoni, prime minister of Spain, sent him a pressing invitation to visit the court of Madrid. The emissaries of the English government watched him so closely, that in order to effect a secret retreat from Italy, he was compelled to have recourse to stratagem. The Spanish court received him in a most gratifying manner, and a powerful armament was prepared at Cadiz for the invasion of England;

but the expedition was as decidedly unsuccessful as that which had been got up for him by the French king in 1708.

Meanwhile a treaty of marriage had been concluded with Clementina Maria, a daughter of Prince Sobieski, eldest son of John, king of Poland. The princess, to the deep dishonour of all the parties concerned in the transaction, was seized while passing through Tyrol in her journey towards Rome, at the instigation, it is said, of the British minister at Vienna. After having been kept a close prisoner for some time at Inspruck, early in May, 1719, she escaped in the disguise of a page to Bologna, where she was married to James Frederick by proxy. So eager did she feel to behold her husband, who was still in Spain, that she was with difficulty prevented from proceeding at once to Madrid. The chevalier soon afterwards returned, and, in commemoration of her escape, caused a medal to be struck, bearing her portrait, and the legend, 'Clementina, Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland,' on one side, and on the other a female figure in a triumphal car drawn by horses at full speed, with the words, 'Fortunam causamque sequor,' and underneath, 'Deceptis custodibus, 1719.' The chevalier expected a vast fortune with his wife, but he only received a portion out of the Sobieski estate, which, on account of its previous encumbrances, was of very little value. He had two children by the princess—Charles Edward, and Henry Benedict.

In 1720, his avowed friend, the king of Sweden, entered into a solemn engagement with George I. to render the chevalier no assistance, and in the following year died Clement XI. whose favour and protection he had for a long time enjoyed. The expiring pontiff warmly recommended the exiled prince to the good offices of his successor in the papal chair.

In 1722, the chevalier sent to this country a declaration of his rights, which was voted a scandalous libel by parliament, and ordered to be publicly burnt at the exchange. For several years afterwards James Frederick and his personal adherents amused themselves by forming visionary schemes for his restoration, but at length he became indolent, and apparently hopeless. He took no part in the romantic expedition of his son in 1745. "By the aid of God," said the young pretender to his father, when preparing to depart for Scotland, "I trust I shall soon be able to lay three crowns at your feet." "Be careful, my dear boy," replied the chevalier, "for I would not lose you for all the crowns in the world."

During the remainder of his long life he resided at Rome, under the protection of the pope, but neither honoured nor beloved. He lived to be pitied by the house of Hanover, and almost forgotten by the children of those of his party who would willingly have died for his benefit. The following is an abridgment of Keysler's notice of James Frederick, published in 1756. "The figure made by the pretender is in every way mean and unbecoming. The pope has issued an order that all his subjects should style him king of England; but the Italians make a jest of this, for they term him 'The local king, or king *here*,' while the real possessor is styled 'The king *there*,' that is, in England. He has an annual income of 12,000 scudi, or crowns, from the pope, and though he may receive as much from his adherents in England, it is far from enabling him to keep up the state of a sovereign prince. He is very

fond of seeing his image struck in medals; and if kingdoms were to be obtained by tears—which he shed plentifully at the miscarriage of his attempts in Scotland—he would have found the medallists work enough. Not to mention the former medals, the one at present in hand shows that his life is not very thick set with great actions, for it relates to the birth of his eldest son, and represents the busts of the pretender and his lady, with this legend, 'Jacob. III. R. Clementina R.' On the reverse is a lady with a child on her left arm, leaning on a pillar as the emblem of constancy, and with her right hand pointing to a globe on which is seen England, Scotland, and Ireland, the legend 'Providentia obstetrix,' and below, 'Carlo Princ. Valliæ, nat. die ultimâ A. 1720.' The pretender generally appears abroad with three coaches, and his household consists of about forty persons. He lately assumed some authority at the opera by calling 'Encore,' when a song that pleased him was performed, but it was not until after a long pause that his order was obeyed. He never before affected the least power. At his coming into an assembly no English protestant rises up, and even the Roman catholics pay him the compliment in a very superficial manner. His pusillanimity, and the licentiousness of his amours, have lessened him in every body's esteem. His lady is too pale and thin to be thought handsome; her frequent miscarriages have brought her very low, so that she seldom stirs abroad unless to visit a convent. She allows her servants no gold or silver lace on their liveries, and this proceeds from what is called her piety; but it is partly owing to her ill health, and partly to the jealousy, inconstancy, and other ill qualities of her husband; and one of these provocations affected her so much, that she withdrew into a convent, whilst the pretender, to be more at liberty to pursue his amours, went to Bologna. But the pope disapproved of their separate households, and to induce him to return to Rome and be reconciled to his lady, discontinued his pension. Yet the reconciliation was merely formal; he pursues his vices as much as ever, and she can never entertain a cordial affection for him again. Mr S—, who affects to be an antiquary, narrowly watches the pretender and his adherents, being retained for that purpose by the British ministry. A few years since, Cardinal Alberoni, to save the pretender's charges, proposed that the palace Alla Langhara should be assigned for his residence. This house lies in the suburbs, and in a private place, and has a large garden with a passage to the city walls, so that the pretender's friends might have visited him with more privacy, and he himself be absent without its being known in Rome. This change was objected to on the part of England by Mr S- , and did not take place; but a new wing was built to the pretender's old mansion, he having represented it as too small for him."

For five years before his death, James Frederick was too infirm to leave his room. He lost his wife on the 18th of January, 1765, and his own death took place on the 12th day of the same month in the following year. His remains were interred with extraordinary magnificence.

Some interesting observations occur with regard to the chevalier's character in Bolingbroke's letter to Sir William Wyndham, from which the following are extracts. "The chevalier's education renders him infinitely less fit than his uncle, and, at least, as unfit as his father, to be king of England; add to this, that there is no resource in his under-

standing. He is a slave to the weakest prejudices; the rod hangs like the sword of Damocles over his head, and he humbles before his mother and the priest."—"His religion is not founded on the love of virtue and the detestation of vice; the spring of his whole conduct is fear—fear of the horns of the devil and of the flames of hell. He has all the superstition of a Capuchin, but none of the religion of a prince."—"When the draught of a declaration to be circulated in Great Britain—that dated at Commercy—was to be settled, his real character was fully developed. He took exception against the passages in which the security of the protestant church was promised. He said he could not in conscience make such a promise, and asked warmly why the tories were so anxious to have him if they expected those things from him which his religion did not allow. I left the draughts with him that he might amend them, and, though I cannot absolutely prove it, I firmly believe that he sent them to the queen to be corrected by her confessor. Queen Anne was called, in the original, 'his sister, of blessed and glorious memory;' in that which he published, 'blessed' was left out. When her death was mentioned, the original said, 'when it pleased Almighty God to take her to himself,' this was erased, and the following words inserted, 'when it pleased God to put a period to her life.' He also refused to allow the term of 'blessed martyr' to be applied to Charles."

Horace Walpole thus spoke of James Frederick in 1752: "The Chevalier de St George is tall, meagre, and melancholy in his aspect: enthusiasm and disappointment have stamped a solemnity on his person, which rather creates pity than respect. He seems the phantom which good nature, divested of reflection, conjures up, when we think on the misfortunes, without the demerits of Charles I. Without the particular features of any Stuart, the chevalier has the strong lines and fatality of air peculiar to them all. He never gave the world very favourable impressions of him; in Scotland his behaviour was far from heroic. At Rome—where to be a good Roman catholic it is by no means necessary to be very religious—they have little esteem for him: but it was his ill treatment of the Princess Sobieski, his wife, that originally disgusted the papal court. She, who to zeal for popery had united all its policy,—who was lively, insinuating, agreeable, and enterprising,—was fervently supported by that court when she could no longer endure the mortifications that were offered to her by Hay and his wife, the titular countess of Inverness, to whom the chevalier had entirely resigned himself. The pretender retired to Bologna, but was obliged to sacrifice his favourites before he could re-establish himself at Rome. The most apparent merit of the chevalier's court is the great regularity of his finances and the economy of his exchequer. His income, before the rebellion, was about £23,000 a year, arising chiefly from pensions from the pope and from Spain, from contributions from England, and some irregular donations from other courts; yet his payments were not only most exact, but he had saved a large sum of money, which was squandered on the unfortunate attempt in Scotland. Besides the loss of a crown, to which he thought he had a just title; besides a series of disappointments from his birth; besides that mortifying rotation of friends to which his situation has constantly exposed him, he has, in the latter part of his life, seen his own little court and his parental affections torn to pieces, and tortured by the seeds of faction, sown by that master-hand of sedition, the

famous Bolingbroke, who insinuated into their councils a project for the chevalier's resigning his pretensions to his eldest son as more likely to conciliate the affections of the English to his family. The father and the ancient Jacobites never could be induced to relish this scheme; the boy and his adherents embraced it as eagerly as if the father had really had a crown to resign. Slender as their cabinet was, these parties divided it."

In opposition to Bolingbroke, the earl of Mar, a devoted adherent to the Stuarts, describes the chevalier as having possessed "all the great and good qualities that are necessary for making a people every way happy;" and Lesley, a non-juring divine, whom the prince entertained in his household for the purpose of officiating to the protestants in the family, declares that he was magnanimous, tolerant, and devout; courteous, sensible, and diligent.

Richard Cromwell.

BORN A. D. 1626.—DIED A. D. 1712.

Richard Cromwell, eldest son of Oliver Cromwell, lord-protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was born at Huntingdon, October 4th, 1626. His early grammar education was completed at Felsted in Essex, under the inspection of his grandfather, Sir James Bourchier, who resided at that place. In his twenty-first year he was admitted to the society of Lincoln's-Inn, but his time was passed rather in the character of a country gentleman than of a civilian. Upon the advancement of his father's fortunes he obtained a marriage with Dorothy, eldest daughter of Richard Major, Esq. of Hursley in Hampshire, with whom he received a considerable dowry. He appears to have lived in retirement till his father was made protector, being manifestly disqualified for those stormy scenes in which his father took so active a part, as well as disinclined to engage in them. Rural sports and country pleasures, with the peaceful enjoyments of domestic life, appear to have been his chief occupations, while his father was settling the affairs of the kingdom. He is reported to have interceded for the life of the condemned monarch. After peace and public order were restored, Richard allowed himself to be returned member of parliament for Monmouth and Southampton. In 1655 he was made first lord of trade and navigation. His father was too wise and able a governor to have advanced him to this important station unless he had perceived in him some qualities that eminently fitted him for the duties of his office, for never was the government of Great Britain more efficiently conducted, both in its domestic and foreign departments, than during the protectorate.

In the parliament which was summoned in August, 1656, Richard Cromwell was returned member for the university of Cambridge and for the county of Hants. The year following Richard had a very narrow escape for his life. The parliament were admitted to the banquetting-house to pay their respects to the protector. A large number were crowding the stair-case, when it gave way, and precipitated them into the hall beneath. Richard had several of his bones broken;

but being young and of a vigorous constitution he speedily recovered. In July of the same year the chancellorship of the university of Cambridge being vacant, by the resignation of the protector, Richard was elected to succeed him; and to manifest still farther the respect felt by the whole university for Cromwell, his son was created master of arts. The death of the protector followed the year after, when Richard was in the thirty-second year of his age. His father is said to have nominated him on his death-bed as his successor, but this is not quite certain. The council, however, sent to him upon the death of his father requesting him to accept the style and title of protector. For a short time every appearance was favourable to the stability of his power. Some writers have insinuated that he was a man of weak abilities. The greater probability is, that such writers were men of strong prejudices; for those who have condemned the father for aiming at the supreme power are the very persons who reproach his son for resigning it. Richard does not appear to have manifested any deficiency of talent during the short time that he held the reins of government, but rather to have conducted himself prudently and discreetly; but he was not a spirit to ride the storm, and foreseeing that a dominion which had been purchased at such an expense of blood, could not be maintained without a renewal of former scenes of strife and bloodshed, both wisely and benevolently preferred the abandonment of honour and power. It was a hard task for Oliver himself to control the army, it was therefore not to be expected that a civilian, and one of pacific habits, would ever attempt it, or would ever succeed in his attempt. The republicans were no doubt the first plotters against the new protector, and they, in their turn, soon found that all their schemes were countermined, and that instead of a protector they must submit to the restoration of the old dynasty. Richard was induced to dissolve his parliament, then call a new one, give up the great seal, quit Whitehall, and finally to send in to the parliament his resignation. Upon this a schedule of his debts, principally incurred for his father's funeral, was made out, and it was promised they should be defrayed, together with a handsome subsistence for himself and family. The expediency of his abdication, to prevent another bloody contention, is shown by the issue of affairs. Those very persons who had been the agents of accomplishing the abdication, could not finally attain their more remote ends; for they involved the nation in an unconditional surrender to one of the most worthless creatures that ever sat upon a throne, and precipitated themselves into utter ruin and perpetual dispersion. Chief-Justice Hale strenuously pressed for the requisite conditions, but was overborne; and so all things lapsed into even a worse state than they had been in before the civil war. Richard, however, deserved his country's thanks for the quiet abandonment of a power which he might have made a severe scourge to many. That he wanted not firmness and ability was evinced by his debating a whole night, almost alone, against the whole council of officers. But he had other qualities of mind and heart which prevented him from showing his firmness at the expense of another civil war.

When Richard observed the temper of the restored monarch and his advisers, he very wisely withdrew to Paris, where he is said to have lived in disguise and unobserved. Upon a rumour of war between France and England, he prudently removed to Geneva, from whence,

when the alarm subsided, he returned into France, and, with the exception of another short interval of residence at Geneva, continued there till the year 1680. By this time the unpopularity of the restored family made him bold, and induced him to hope that he might enjoy safety in his native country. He therefore returned, and took up his residence twelve miles from London, at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire. He assumed the name of Richard Clark, Esq., and was unknown except to a few chosen friends. His last days were grievously imbittered by domestic afflictions, and by the undutifulness of two of his daughters. In 1705 he lost his only son, Oliver, by death. This event entitled him to a life estate in the manor of Hursley, which being a part of his wife's jointure had descended to his son Oliver in his mother's right. Upon the death of his son the old gentleman sent his youngest daughter to take possession of the estate. Having done this, she confederated with her other sisters to deprive their father of his interest in it, by alleging that he was superannuated. Thus, regardless of the duties of filial affection, and even of the dictates of common humanity, they proposed to allow their father no control over the estate, but merely a small annuity. This base purpose was rendered still more detestable by the exemplary conduct he had always maintained towards his children. His consciousness of having always treated them with parental fondness was his support in this heavy affliction. He was determined not to submit to such treatment from his children in his last days, when he might justly have expected from them far other conduct. Although he was now in his eightieth year, he manifested sufficient vigour and resolution of mind to resist the confederacy of his children, and in consequence instituted a suit at law against them. The trial terminated in his favour, and in the marked and public disgrace to which his daughters were reduced by the decision of the court. Richard Cromwell continued to enjoy good health and his recovered estate six years after this period. He died July 12th, 1712, at Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, and is reported to have been able to gallop his horse for several miles together till within a short time of his death. His remains were removed with much funeral pomp to the church of Hursley, where they were deposited in the chancel near those of his wife.

John, Lord Berkeley.

BORN A. D. 1662.—DIED A. D. 1696.

The subject of the present memoir was the second son of Sir John Berkeley, and Christian, daughter of Sir Andrew Piccard, and widow of Henry, Lord Kensington. Sir John had ever shown himself the constant and loyal adherent of Charles I., and afterwards became the no less faithful follower of the apparently ruined fortunes of his son when in exile. Charles II., in consideration of his many eminent services, raised him to the peerage with the title of Lord Berkeley of Stratton, by letters patent, dated at Brussels on the 19th of May, 1658. Charles, the eldest son, entered into the sea service, and fell a victim to the small-pox. On his decease the title devolved on the subject of the present memoir. After having been appointed a lieutenant in the navy on

the 14th of April, 1685, he was rapidly promoted from thence to be captain of the Charles frigate. He proceeded immediately afterwards up the Mediterranean, and on his return received two commissions for different ships successively, the Montague and the Edgar, and was appointed to act as rear-admiral of the fleet under the orders of Lord Dartmouth. The honourable manner in which he filled the station last mentioned raised him as high in the estimation of his new sovereign as he had been in that of his former master. He was made rear-admiral of the red, and served in that capacity under Admiral Herbert, afterwards earl of Torrington. After his return to port he struck his flag, and did not accept of any subsequent command till the year 1693, when, having in the interim been progressively promoted to the ranks of vice-admiral of the blue and of the red squadrons, in the month of July, 1693, on the decease of Sir John Ashby, his lordship was appointed to succeed him, and hoisted his flag accordingly on board the Victory, a first rate.

Though the naval operations of this summer were extremely unfortunate, no blame was ever attached to Lord Berkeley. Even on the signal failure of the expedition sent out under his orders for the attack of Brest, the public indignation was transferred from his lordship to those who had so impotently and unadvisedly contrived the expedition. He died on the 27th of February, 1696, being then only in his thirty-fourth year. At the time of his decease he was admiral of the fleet, colonel of marines, groom of the stole to his royal highness Prince George, and first gentleman of the bed-chamber.

Henry, Baron Capel.

DIED A. D. 1696.

HENRY CAPEL, second son of Arthur, first Lord Capel, and brother of Arthur, first earl of Essex, who was implicated with Sydney and Russell, and whose existence was so mysteriously terminated in the tower, was born in the earlier part of the seventeenth century.

On the accession of Charles II., the services which his family had performed in the cause of royalty obtained for him the favour of the restored sovereign. He was appointed a privy-councillor, and in 1679 placed at the head of the admiralty. He pursued a moderate course in the house of commons at first, but ultimately became a vigorous champion of the popular cause, and seconded the motion of Lord Russell for the bill of exclusion.

He supported the revolution, and was rewarded with a seat in the privy-council, and, in 1692, with the honours of the peerage under the title of Baron Capel of Tewksbury. In 1693, Lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wyche, and William Duncombe, were appointed lords-justices of Ireland; Capel's whig principles, however, coalesced but ill with those of his two subordinates, and it was soon found necessary to recall the commission, and to appoint Lord Capel head of the government in Ireland. In this character he ventured to convoke the parliament, and succeeded in executing the king's instructions; he procured the confirmation of the act of settlement, and the annulling of the bills of attainder passed in

the pretended parliament of James. He had even the address to procure a subsidy of £160,000. We have already, in our opening sketch, adverted to his disputes with his ambitious and intriguing chancellor, Sir Charles Porter.

Lord Capel's administration was terminated by his death, on the 26th of May, 1696. Burnett and Oldmixon, though whigs, accuse Capel of unnecessary rigour and severity in his administration; and the tory historians, Ralph and Smollett, speak in still bitterer terms of him.

Spencer, Earl of Sunderland.

BORN A. D 1640.—DIED A. D. 1702.

ROBERT SPENCER, second earl of Sunderland, was the only son of Henry, third Lord Spencer, who was advanced to the earldom by Charles I., and fell in the battle of Newbury. His mother was Dorothy, daughter of Sidney, earl of Leicester, better known as the Sacharissa of Waller.

His early education was carefully conducted; and before entering into public life, he enjoyed the advantage of several years of foreign travel. On his return to England he was appointed ambassador-extraordinary to the court of Madrid in 1671, and, in the autumn of the following year, went to Paris in the same character. In 1673 he was one of the plenipotentiaries for the treaty of Cologne, and, on the 27th of May, 1674, was sworn of the privy-council.

He held no specific appointment during the next four years; but, in July, 1678, he was again sent ambassador-extraordinary to Louis XIV., and, it is supposed by some, was intrusted with the arrangement of those infamous pecuniary transactions into which Charles secretly entered at this time with the French monarch. Whatever the nature of his mission was, he acquitted himself in it to the satisfaction of his royal master, and, on his return, in the succeeding year, was appointed principal secretary of state in the room of Sir Joseph Williamson. Rapin says that Sunderland gave Williamson £6,525 to induce him to resign. He now coalesced with the duke of Monmouth and the dutchess of Portsmouth, in their endeavours to oust Danby, and place Essex at the head of the treasury. They succeeded in their scheme, and also got Shaftesbury appointed president of the newly modelled privy-council.

Essex, Halifax, Sunderland, Shaftesbury, and Temple, now formed the king's especial cabinet; but the bill of exclusion dissolved this junto. Sunderland voted for it not only "against his master's mind, but his express command," and the king indignantly dismissed him from his secretaryship. He contrived, however, to get restored to his post in January, 1682; and, notwithstanding his former vote, and the repeated efforts which he was known to have made to thwart the wishes of the duke of York, and prejudice his interests generally with the nation, yet, on the accession of the new king, he was not only retained in office, but rose high in favour at the very moment that his fall and disgrace were considered inevitable. In accomplishing his ambitious views, the earl had in fact sacrificed his conscience by a formal abjuration of the protestant faith, under circumstances which left almost no doubt as

to the unworthiness of his motives. It has been alleged that Sunderland was pensioned both by the prince of Orange and the king of France, in 1686, and that the fact was well-known to James himself. There is not sufficient evidence to support this allegation, for the passage on which it is founded in 'Macpherson's State Papers,' will be found on examination to be not an extract from James's private journal, as it has been represented, but a statement made by the anonymous compiler of James's life on his own authority. Neither is the alleged transaction with Monmouth any better supported. In the same papers there is an account of Ralph Sheldon informing James in the presence of Sunderland himself, that he (Sheldon) was directed by Monmouth to acquaint the king that Lord Sunderland had promised "to meet him," in order to join the insurrection. The anecdote, besides being extremely improbable in itself, rests only on the testimony of the anonymous writer already referred to, and is unsupported by any reference to the king's own memoirs.

In February 1685, Spencer succeeded Halifax in office of president of the council, while he still retained that of secretary of state. His negotiations with the party of the prince of Orange at last became evident to the whole court, and the catholic party clamoured loudly for his dismissal. Yet, on the arrival of William, Sunderland fled to the continent, and he was specially excepted from the acts of indemnity and free pardon, which the new sovereign promulgated in 1690 and 1692. It is not easy, therefore, to account for the marvellous facility with which the earl at last replaced himself in the administration of this country. Burnet declares that "he gained an ascendant over William, and had more credit with him than any Englishman ever had." He was not, indeed, brought forward in any specific office in the state, but he was virtually the prime minister, for the king gave himself up to his advice, until he found that the nation would no longer bear the approach of such a man to the royal ear. He reluctantly yielded to the clamour raised against his favourite by all parties, and allowed the earl to retire into privacy, at his seat in Northamptonshire, where he died in September, 1702.

"Lord Sunderland," says Burnet, "was a man of a clear and a ready apprehension, and a quick decision in business. He had too much heat," he adds, "both of imagination and passion, and was apt to speak very freely both of persons and things. His own notions were always good, but he was a man of great expense, and, in order to the supporting of himself, he went into the prevailing counsels at court; and he changed sides often, with little regard either to religion or to the interests of his country."

Vice-Admiral John Benbow.

BORN A. D. 1650.—DIED A. D. 1702

This eccentric but gallant naval officer was descended from a good family in the county of Salop, that had sacrificed its property to its loyalty during the civil wars. He was born about the year 1650, at Cotton-hill, near Shrewsbury. His father, Colonel John Benbow, dy-

ing when his son was yet a boy, and leaving no property for the youth's support, the lad was apprenticed, by some humane friends, to a merchant-captain. He conducted himself so well that, before he had completed his thirtieth year, he became master and partly owner of a trig little merchant-vessel called the Benbow frigate. While thus occupied, a singular anecdote is related of him, which at once displays, in the most forcible colours, his gallantry and his very whimsical turn of mind. He was attacked in his passage to Cadiz by a Sallee rover, against whom he defended himself with desperate valour, though his crew was very inferior in numbers to his opponents. At last the Moors boarded him, but they were quickly beaten out of his ship again, with the loss of thirteen men, whose heads Captain Benbow ordered to be cut off, and thrown into a tub of pork pickle! On arriving at Cadiz, Benbow went on shore and ordered a negro servant to follow him, with the Moors' heads in a sack. He had scarcely landed before the officers of the revenue inquired what he had in his sack. The captain answered, "Salt provisions for my own use." "That may be," answered the officers; "but we must insist upon seeing them." Benbow replied that he was no stranger there, and pretended to be much offended that he was suspected. The officers told him that the magistrates were sitting not far off, and that if they were satisfied with his word, his servant might carry the provisions whither he pleased, but that, as for themselves, it was not in their power to act otherwise than they did. The captain at last consented to go before the magistrates; they marched to the custom-house, Mr Benbow in the front, his men in the centre, and the officers in the rear. The magistrates, when he came before them, treated Captain Benbow with great civility, told him they were sorry to make a point of such a trifle; but that, since he refused to show the contents of his sack to their officers, the nature of their employment obliged them to demand a sight of them; and that, as they doubted not they were salt provisions, the act of showing them could be of no consequence one way or the other. "I told you," says the captain sternly, "they were salt provisions for my own use. Cæsar, throw them down on the table; and, gentlemen, if you like them, they are at your service!" The Spaniards were exceedingly struck at the sight of the Moors' heads, and no less astonished at the account of the captain's adventure, who, with so small a force, had been able to defeat such a number of barbarians.

The fame of Benbow's valour and exploits at last reached the ears of the English government, who at once issued a captain's commission to him, and appointed him to the command of the York, of sixty guns. This was in 1689: next year the earl of Torrington made him master of his own flag-ship, the Sovereign. Perhaps Benbow shared for a time in the disgrace of his superior, for we find no subsequent mention made of him till 1693, when he was appointed to the Norwich, and sent out with a squadron to bombard St Maloes. His services on this, and several other similar occasions, gave much satisfaction to the government, and were rewarded by his elevation to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue.

When ministers suspected that the court of France was meditating a blow at our colonies in the West Indies, Benbow was despatched with an armament for their protection. He fulfilled his mission admirably,

and as a second time despatched on the same errand. King William, on this last occasion, thinking it hard that a man who had so very recently returned from such a disagreeable service should be again sent out, wished some other officer appointed; but none could be found, in whom the ministry had sufficient confidence, willing to undertake a service in which there was so little probability of acquiring either honour or advantage. Perceiving this, the king is said to have wittily exclaimed: "Well then, as I find I must spare our beaux, I will send Benbow!" From the moment he received official information of the rupture between Great Britain and France, he redoubled his activity; and having got his ships in the best condition for service his circumstances would permit, put to sea from Port-Royal on the 11th of July, having with him eight ships of the line, a fire-ship, a bomb-ketch, and a sloop. His intention was to form a junction with rear-admiral Whetstone, whom he detached a few days before; but having received advice on the 14th that Du Casse was expected at Loogane, in Hispaniole, he directed his course thither; and though not fortunate enough to meet with Du Casse there, his disappointment found some palliative in the destruction of a French ship, carrying fifty guns. Having thus effected all the mischief he was capable of doing the enemy in this quarter, he again put to sea on the 2d of August in pursuit of Du Casse. On the 19th of the same month he fell in with ten sail to the westward of St Martha, which he very soon discovered to be French. Their force consisted of four ships of from seventy to sixty-six guns each, a large Dutch built frigate mounting nearly forty guns, a transport with troops, and four small vessels. Benbow immediately made the signal for his squadron to form, he himself being, as is customary, in the centre; but the dilatoriness of many of the captains prevented the line from being properly arranged till the day was too far advanced for him to expect any material advantage ere night would put an end to the encounter. He resolved, however, to make the attempt; but the absolute flight of Captain Kirby, who commanded the Defiance, of sixty-four guns, and the misbehaviour of Captain Constable in the Windsor, of sixty, contributed to render the short action much less decisive than it might have proved. Indeed the whole weight of the engagement lay upon the Breda, the vice-admiral's ship, and, in all probability, he would have fallen a sacrifice to his own gallantry, had he not been most ably supported by Captain Walton, in the Ruby, of forty-eight guns. Benbow, in the hope of reclaiming his recreant officers, made an alteration in his line of battle, and led the van himself on both tacks in the Breda. In this expectation, however, he was unfortunately disappointed, for at break of day, on the morning of the 20th, he found himself close to the enemy, without a single ship near him except the Ruby; the remainder of the squadron were three, four, and five miles astern. But though the admiral appeared to be so deserted, the enemy seemed irresolute, and afraid of making use of that advantage which fortune had thrown in their way. Although the Breda was within gun-shot of them, they suffered her to remain unmolested, and a breeze springing up about three o'clock, crowded all the sail they could to avoid any further encounter. The admiral and Captain Walton attacked with their chase-guns; but night came on, and the French ships continued their retreat, without having suffered any material damage. On the

21st the engagement was renewed at break of day; for the admiral, with his gallant second, had succeeded in keeping close antagonists during the whole of the night. The Breda had the good fortune to drive one of the largest of the enemy's ships out of the line; but the Ruby being small, and ill adapted to contend against such powerful ships as Du Casse had with him, the vice-admiral was obliged to send his own boats to tow her out of reach. No other ship of the British squadron came up during the whole of this day's encounter, and the contest consequently remained undecided, the enemy using every effort to escape, while Benbow was equally active on his part to prevent their flight. On the 22d, the Greenwich, of fifty-four guns, commanded by Captain Wade, was near three leagues astern, although the signal for the line of battle had never been struck, from the hour it was first hoisted on the 19th; the rest of the squadron, however—the Ruby excepted, which was in a very wretched and disabled state—were pretty well up with the Breda; but the whole of the day passed on without its being possible for the admiral to effect any thing decisive. Appearances, on the morning of the 23d, were still more inauspicious; the enemy were six or seven miles a-head, and the English squadron very much scattered, several of the ships being four or five miles astern; but the exertions of the admiral were such, that in spite of every impediment, he nearly closed with the French by ten o'clock, and after exchanging several shots with two ships, captured the Anne galley, an English vessel, which Du Casse had taken on his passage to the West Indies. The Ruby being found too much disabled to be capable of rendering any further assistance, was ordered to Port-Royal. The ensuing night put an end to the contest, which, though it terminated unfortunately, ended most gloriously for the reputation of Benbow. "On the 24th," says the Journal of the encounter, "at two in the morning we came up within hail of the sternmost; it being very little wind, the admiral fired a broadside, with double and round below, and round and cartridge aloft, which she returned. At three o'clock the admiral's right leg was shattered to pieces by a chain-shot, and he was carried down; but presently ordered his cradle on the quarter-deck, and continued the fight till day, when appeared the ruins of a ship of about seventy guns; her mainyard down, and shot to pieces; her fore-topsail shot away; her mizenmast shot by the board; all her rigging gone, and her sides bored through and through with our double-headed shot. The Falmouth assisted in this matter very much, and no other ship. Soon after day the admiral saw the other ships of the enemy coming towards him with a strong gale of wind easterly; at the same time the Windsor, Pendennis and Greenwich, ahead of the enemy, ran to leeward of the disabled ship, fired their broadsides, passed her, and stood to the southward; then the Defiance followed them, passed also to leeward of the disabled ship, and fired part of her broadside. The disabled ship did not fire above twenty guns at the Defiance, before she put her helm a-weather, and ran away right before the wind; lowered both her topsails, and ran to leeward of the Falmouth, which was then a gunshot to leeward of the admiral, knotting her rigging, without any regard to the signal for battle. The enemy seeing our other two ships stand to the southward, expected they would have tacked and stood with them. They brought to with their heads to the northward; but seeing those three ships did

not tack, bore down upon the admiral, and ran between the disabled ship and him, firing all their guns, in which they shot away his main topsail yard, and shattered his rigging much. None of the other ships being near him, nor taking any notice of the battle signal, the captain of the Breda hereupon fired two guns at those ships ahead, in order to put them in mind of their duty. The French, seeing this great disorder, brought to and lay by their own disabled ship, remanned, and took her in tow. The Breda's rigging being much shattered, she lay by till ten o'clock; and being then refitted, the admiral ordered the captain to pursue the enemy, who was then about three miles distant, and to leeward, having the disabled ship in tow, steering N.E., the wind at S.S.W. The admiral, in the mean time, made all the sail after them he could; and the battle-signal was always out. But the enemy, taking encouragement from the behaviour of some of our captains, the admiral ordered Captain Fogg to send to the captains to keep their line, and to behave themselves like men, which he did. Upon this, Captain Kirby came on board the admiral, and pressed him very earnestly to desist from any further engagement, which made the admiral desirous to know the opinion of the other captains. Accordingly he ordered Captain Fogg to make a signal for all the other captains to come on board, which they did, and most of them concurred with Captain Kirby in his opinion; whereupon, the admiral perceiving they had no mind to fight, and being not able to prevail with them to come to any other resolution, though all they said was erroneous, he thought it not fit to venture any further. At this time the admiral was abreast of the enemy, and had a fair opportunity of fighting them; the masts and yards in good condition, and few men killed, except those on board the Breda." Du Casse himself is said to have most grievously condemned that cowardice and misconduct which saved him from destruction; and he is even reported to have written Benbow a letter with his own hand, couched in the following terms:—"Sir! I had little hopes on Monday last but to have supped in your cabin, but it pleased God to order it otherwise; I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up, for by —— they deserve it.—Yours,

"DU CASSE."

Benbow finding it impossible to effect any thing decisive against the enemy, till the ships under his orders were commanded by other officers, returned to Jamaica, where it was found necessary to amputate his shattered limb, for the purpose of preventing mortification. A fever ensued, which, though his robust constitution held out for a long time, at length put a period to his life on the 4th of November, 1702.

Samuel Pepys.

BORN A. D. 1632.—DIED A. D. 1703.

SAMUEL PEPYS was descended from a younger branch of an old Norfolkshire family of that name, which had settled at Cottenham in Cambridgeshire early in the sixteenth century. Younger sons are proverbially richer in blood than money, and we must not therefore be surprised to find that this branch of the family had fallen somewhat away

from the dignity of the parent stem. In point of fact, Pepys' father was a tailor. Samuel, the subject of this memoir, was his eldest surviving son, and was born on the 23d of February, 1632. He was educated in the metropolis at St Paul's school, from whence he moved in 1651 to Trinity, and subsequently to Magdalene college, Cambridge. Having, we presume, completed his education, his next step was to take unto himself a wife; and, with less prudence than he usually displayed, he selected a girl of fifteen, well-descended, and very beautiful, but pennyless as himself. Years after, when he had risen to almost affluent circumstances, we find that one morning he "Lay long in bed, talking with pleasure with my poor wife, how she used to make coal fires and wash my foul clothes with her own hand for me, poor wretch." Fortunately for Pepys, he had an influential cousin, Sir Edward Montague, afterwards earl of Sandwich, who gave him shelter and some sort of employment in his own house, and to whose patronage Pepys owed his prosperity. He accompanied Sir Edward in his expedition to the Sound in 1658, and on his return was promoted to an office in the exchequer connected with the payment of the army.

Up to this period Pepys had probably entertained opinions not very favourable to the restoration. This may easily be gathered from hints in his diary. On the 15th of July, 1665, he "Met with Sir James Bunch. 'This is the time for you,' said Bunch, 'that were for Oliver heretofore; you are full of employment, and we poor cavaliers sit still and can get nothing,' which was a pretty reproach, I thought, but answered nothing to it, for fear of making it worse."[1] But the time had now come when such sentiments would be an effectual bar to any rise in life, and Pepys was too prudent and pliable a man to let his conscience mar his fortune. It was in 1660 that he began his diary, and it is extremely interesting to peruse the little notices which he has set down of passing events—many of them indeed mere straws, but indicative of the quarter to which the wind was now veering. In one place we are told that Barebones' windows were horribly broken last night; then again, that the butchers at the maypole in the Strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump,—that the king's arms were set up here and there, and the mercers were privately making a statue of the king,—that a great bonfire is made in the exchange, and people call out 'God bless King Charles the Second!' and finally comes the great fulfilment of all these signs, when amidst an infinite crowd of people and horsemen, and with shouting and joy beyond all imagination, the king arrives. Pepys was on board the vessel which conveyed the king to this country, and his narrative of the voyage is very amusing.

As soon as things were brought into some state of order, Pepys was made clerk of the acts of the navy, and in this post he acquitted himself with great credit. The business-talents and the diligence which he displayed, rapidly recommended him to the favour of the duke of York,

[1] A rather ludicrous passage to the same effect occurs in his diary of November 1st, 1660. "Here dined with us two or three more country gentlemen, among the rest Mr Christmas, my old school-fellow, with whom I had much talk. He did remember that I was a great Roundhead when I was a boy, and I was much afraid that he would have remembered the words that I said the day the king was beheaded, (that were I to preach upon him, my text would be, 'The memory of the wicked shall rot,') but I found afterwards that he did go away from school before that time."

with whom, as head of the navy, Pepys had frequent opportunities of intercourse. He seems, indeed, to have exerted himself with the most laudable industry. Through his exertions new regulations were introduced into the management of the navy and dockyards, the rapacity of the contractors was checked, and care was taken that the state suffered from none but royal peculation. Though the comparison of Pepys to Agricola be ridiculous, he did at least resemble him in one point,—"diligentissima conquisitione fecit, ne cujus alterius sacrilegium respublica, quam Neronis, senssiset." During the time when London was so awfully ravaged by the plague, Pepys was the only officer in the navy department who ventured to remain in London, and of this memorable visitation, as well as of the great fire, he has left us some very curious particulars. In 1668, he, along with the other persons connected with the admiralty, was charged in the house of commons with having been guilty of such gross neglect in his department as had led to De Ruyter's success in his expedition against Chatham. The duty of conducting the defence devolved on Pepys, and, in consequence, he makes a speech of three hours and a half in length at the bar of the house, and with so much eloquence, that he and his colleagues are unanimously acquitted. We have in his diary a most amusing scene of anxiety before, and gratified vanity after the delivery of his great oration. Altogether, the passage is so good, that we must extract some portion of it; premising, however, that in all probability Pepys' friends had previously entertained no great opinion of his rhetorical powers, and on finding that he played his part better than was expected, took occasion, from his evident self-gratulation, to launch out into a strain of extravagant compliment. Before making the speech he seems to have been very nervous.

"And to comfort myself," says he, "did go to the Dog and drink half a pint of mulled sack, and in the hall did drink a dram of brandy at Mrs Hewlett's; and with the warmth of this did find myself in better order as to courage, truly."

The following day his honours shower down on him in a perfect torrent. "6th. Up betimes, and with Sir D. Gauden to Sir W. Coventry's chamber, where the first word he said to me was, 'Good morrow, Mr Pepys, that must be speaker of the parliament-house,' and did protest I had got honour for ever in parliament. He said that his brother, that sat by him, admires me; and another gentleman said that I could not get less than £1000 a year if I would put on a gown and plead at the chancery bar. But, what pleases me most, he tells me that the solicitor-general did protest that he thought I spoke the best of any man in England. My Lord Berkeley did cry me up for what they had heard of it; and others, parliament-men there about the king, did say that they never heard such a speech in their lives delivered in that manner. From thence I went to Westminster-hall, where I met with Mr George Montague, who came to me, and kissed me, and told me that he had often heretofore kissed my hands, but now he would kiss my lips, protesting that I was another Cicero, and said all the world said the same of me. Mr Godolphin; Mr Sands, who swore he would go twenty miles at any time to hear the like again, and that he never saw so many sit four hours together to hear any man in his life as there did to hear me. Mr Chichly, Sir John Duncombe, and every body do say that the kingdom will ring of my abilities, and that I have done myself

right for my whole life; and so Captain Coke and others of my friends say that no man had ever such an opportunity of making his abilities known. And, that I may cite all at once, Mr Lieutenant of the Tower did tell me, that Mr Vaughan did protest to him, and that he in his hearing said so to the duke of Albemarle, and afterwards to Sir William Coventry, that he had sat twenty-six years in parliament and never heard such a speech there before; for which the Lord God make me thankful! and that I may make use of it, not to pride and vain-glory, but that, now I have this esteem, I may do nothing to lessen it."

Pepys certainly took some pains to fulfil his prayer, for although he afterwards held a seat in parliament for a number of years, he contented himself with the laurels he had already won, and never ran the risk of tarnishing their lustre by another display. In 1669, he was obliged, by a weakness of his eyes, to discontinue his diary. He now made a tour through France and Holland, shortly after returning from which, his wife, to whom he seems to have been steadily attached, died. Through the interest of the duke of York, he stood, about this time, candidate for Aldborough, but the interest of the popular party was stronger than had been anticipated, and he was defeated. In 1673 he was chosen member for Castle-Rising, but here again he was unfortunate, for the house of commons was so zealously protestant, that they turned him out on a groundless charge of popery. Had they said that he was a careless Gallio, who loved his own interest better than any religion, the accusation would have worn a greater semblance of truth. When the duke of York, in consequence of the passing of the test act, retired from the management of the admiralty, Pepys was taken into the immediate service of the king, and advanced to the post of secretary for the affairs of the navy. This advancement was followed by an awkward charge of his having been concerned in communicating intelligence to the French, with whom we were then at war, and he was in consequence committed to the Tower; but we may presume him innocent, as he was discharged for want of evidence after a short imprisonment. In 1680, on a change being made in the constitution of the admiralty, he was dismissed from office, though not in accordance with the king's wishes; and his continuance out of place was not of long duration, as in a few years afterwards he was sent on the Tangiers expedition, and appointed to his former post of secretary. This office he filled till the revolution. When that great event took place, it was not to be expected that much consideration should be shown for one who had been so tried and intimate a friend of the exiled monarch. It is a singular proof of the estimation in which James held him, that when news was brought of the landing of the deliverer, the king—who was then sitting to Sir Godfrey Kneller for a picture intended as a present to his faithful secretary—with the utmost *sang froid* commanded the artist to proceed, "that his good friend might not be disappointed." Not content with depriving him of all his offices, the revolution party, for whose fears it must be allowed circumstances gave some warrant, committed him to the Gatehouse prison on suspicion of disaffection, but he was speedily released on pleading ill health, and it does not appear that the charge was ever afterwards noticed. Though he had retired into the shades of private life, he was still looked upon, and frequently consulted, as an oracle in the management of the navy. His retirement was spent in a more dignified manner than the pursuits and

events of his previous life would have led us to anticipate. In correspondence with literary men of the day, in association with learned friends, and in the collection of a fine library, he found sufficient to occupy his time. He had been president of the Royal society in 1684, and after that time had been in the habit of having a conversazione every Saturday evening at his own residence, to which he attracted some of the most learned members of that body. Evelyn appears to have been a pretty constant attendant, as indeed he was one of the most intimate friends our ex-secretary had, and expressed great regret when Pepys was obliged by ill-health to discontinue them. In the year 1700 he was persuaded to remove from town for the benefit of country air, and accordingly went to réside at Clapham in the house of an attached friend and former dependant, who paid to him all possible attention. He had laboured for some years under attacks of the stone, for which in his early days he had undergone an operation. Of course it was in vain to hope that a drive on Clapham-common would remove this terrible disorder. After lingering for three years, he expired on the 26th of May, 1703. The property which he left behind him was much smaller than was anticipated, much of his estate having been dissipated by his hospitality, his mania for rare books, and the careful education he had bestowed on his nephews. His books and manuscripts he bequeathed to Magdalene-college, of which he had been a member. They are well known to literary men under the title of the Pepysian collection.

Pepys is one of those instances occasionally to be met with, of men destitute of extraordinary merit, but pushed forward by circumstances to a prominence which others of much higher desert strive vainly to obtain. This distinction he owes to his diary, but we are not sure that it is a distinction which many will envy. His diary begins in 1660, and spreads over a period of nine or ten years. He commenced it originally for the purpose of having a record of his most private thoughts and feelings, and to make himself perfectly secure that the contents should be known to no eyes but his own, he wrote it in a peculiar cypher. Of course we have his genuine and candid feelings, and his equally impartial notices of passing events, for no man could be such a fool as to tell lies to himself. Unfortunately in some respects for the author's memory, the secret of this cypher was discovered, and a translation of the diary was given to the world some years ago. The records which he kept of his life and actions were so exceedingly minute, that the editor was compelled to omit many passages as too trivial, or otherwise unfit to meet the public eye. Enough, however, remains to make it one of the most entertaining books of gossip in the world; and, indeed, we question whether any language can furnish its equal. No man writing for the public will write with perfect honesty. He may reveal enough of himself, as Rousseau did, to show that he is a scoundrel, but he never will knowingly consent to make himself ridiculous. The selfish feelings,—the interest we take in insignificant matters,—the incongruity of our emotions frequently with those which custom or propriety dictates,—the little pieces of self-flattery which we whisper to our own ears,—are things which we cannot reveal, even to a friend, and much less therefore to a mocking public. Boswell has approached more nearly to our author in this respect than any other writer with whom we are

acquainted, but he follows at a long interval. To the student of character it presents an ample field of observation. Pepys united with a very fair proportion of private honour and integrity, the most complete apathy as to any thing like public spirit or public principle. Diligent in business—by no means, so far as we can see, given to peculation—exact in performing the duties of his office—anxious that all in his department should be executed skilfully and honestly—he seems to have dreamed of no other public virtue; and while the duke was pleased, or Sir William Coventry satisfied, he was well content. It is idle to talk, as one or two have done, of his possessing high principle.

The information obtained from his diary is more amusing than instructive, and more curious than useful. Nearly all that he mentions relating to public affairs was already known, and his evidence is therefore principally valuable as affording fresh testimony, and that the testimony of an eye-witness, to the truth of our histories. There are, too, some interesting notices not readily to be met with elsewhere; such, for instance, as the following narrative of the death of the young, high-minded, all-accomplished, Sir Henry Vane.

"14th. About 11 o'clock, having a room got ready for us, we all went out to the Tower-hill; and there, over against the scaffold, made on purpose this day, saw Sir Henry Vane brought. • A very great press of people. He made a long speech, many times interrupted by the sheriffe and others there; and they would have taken his paper out of his hand, but he would not let it go. But they caused all the books of those that writ after him to be given the sheriffe, and the trumpets were brought under the scaffold that he might not be heard. Then he prayed, and so fitted himself and received the blow; but the scaffold was so crowded that we could not see it done. He had a blister, or issue, upon his neck, which he desired them not to hurt. He changed not his colour or speech to the last, but died, justifying himself and the cause he had stood for; and spoke very confidently of his being presently at the right hand of Christ; and in all things appeared the most resolved man that ever died in that manner."

Besides this, there are a number of passages scattered up and down the work, which introduce to us in one way or another almost all the distinguished men of the time; and we gain a more intimate, or, so to speak, personal knowledge of the great lord-chancellor, Clarendon, when he is led down stairs, "having the gout," and talks with Mr Pepys "most friendly, yet cunningly," for an hour, than from the most elaborate dissertation on his character. The king, he tells us, spoke worse than any man he ever heard in his life. In another part, we find the king drinking the duke of York's health on his knees, "and then all the company; and having done it all fell a crying for joy, being all maudlin and kissing one another; the king the duke of York, and the duke of York the king, and in such a maudlin pickle as never people were: and so passed the day." Yet these were the times of right divine and passive obedience!

The following passage is valuable as the evidence of a contemporary, and may help to put to silence the ignorance of the foolish men who annually rejoice over the happy restoration in church and state. "It is strange how every body do now-a-days reflect upon Oliver and commend him, what brave things he did, and made all the neighbour princes

fear him; while here is a prince, come in with all the love and prayers and good liking of his people, who have given greater signs of loyalty and willingness to serve him with their estates than ever was done by any people, hath lost all so soon, that it is a miracle what a man could devise to lose so much in so little time!"

The most valuable part of Pepys' diary is that which gives us an insight into the manners and habits, both of action and feeling, which prevailed at the time. A most interesting paper might be written by drawing together and illustrating the most striking of these notices, but our limits are already touched upon, and we must hasten to a conclusion. Whatever be the most valuable part of the diary, the most amusing is unquestionably that which relates to himself individually. Indeed we know of nothing more ludicrous than much of what he records. It is like obtaining a bird's-eye view of some lively friend who is soliloquizing, or dancing, or rhetorizing, in the innermost recesses of his study, with all the freedom of fancied solitude. The naiveté of the following is admirable. "Sir William Petty tells me that Mr Barlow is dead, for which (God knows my heart) I could be as sorry as is possible for one to be for a stranger by whose death he gets £100 a year."

We are made the confidants of his innermost feelings and most trivial actions. No new dress is put on, or party of pleasure formed, without being faithfully recorded. In his dresses he especially luxuriates, owing, the reviewers maliciously hint, to his being the son of a tailor. He was evidently a great sight-seer and news-monger. No exhibition of "foreign wonders" is to be seen, or new play produced, without his presence; and even when he deems it unbecoming his dignity, as an official man, to be seen at the theatre, he goes disguised. He seems to have been very fond of seeing the court-beauties, and indeed he is sometimes placed in situations which could not be altogether pleasing to Mrs Pepys. In one place he sees "the finest smocks and linen petticoats of my Lady Castlemaine's," which it did him good to look at. There are some amusing entries, from which it may be gathered that he slily indulged a passion for a certain Mrs Mercer, a waiting maid, and occasional companion of Mrs Pepys, and it is curious to observe how he abstains from acknowledging, even to himself, this amourette, while the fact of its existence breaks out in several places. We do not know how we can better conclude our sketch than by giving the reader the following specimen of the candour with which he is treated.

"We supped at home and very merry. And then about nine o'clock at Mrs Mercer's gate, where the fire and boys expected us, and her son had provided abundance of serpents and rockets: and there mighty merry (my Lady Pen, and Peg, going thither with us, and Nan Wright) till about twelve at night, flinging our fire-works and burning one another and the people over the way. And at last our businesses being most spent, we in to Mrs Mercer's, and there mighty merry, smutting one another with candle grease and soot, till most of us were like devils. And that being done, then we broke up and to my house; and there I made them drink, and up stairs we went, and then fell into dancing, (W. Batelier dancing well) and dressing him and I and one Mr Bannister (who with my wife came over also with us) like women; and Mercer put on a suit of Tom's like a boy, and mighty mirth we had —and Mercer danced a jig; and Nan Wright, and my wife, and Peggy

Pen, put on periwigs. Thus we spent till three or four in the morning —mighty merry."

We fear that we have occupied a larger space by this memoir than might fairly be awarded to Pepys' merits, but his diary is such a singular production, and it is so rare in the list of politicians to find any thing amusing, that we hope to be excused. It is but fair to add, that appended to his diary are to be found many letters from Pepys to his friends, or *vice versa*, which exhibit him in a much more respectable and dignified light than any in which we have represented him.

Henry, Earl of Warrington.

BORN A. D. 1661.—DIED A. D. 1693

Neither the exact time of the birth of this nobleman, nor yet any account of his infant years, remain on record: the first mention made of him being, "that during the life of his father, he was knight of the shire for the county of Chester, in several parliaments, in the reign of King Charles II." In the house of commons he constantly showed himself a firm opposer of arbitrary power, and a steady friend to the rights of the people. He exerted himself in support of the bill of exclusion; and in the speech which he made on that occasion, he endeavoured to prove—to use his own words—that "the next of kin has not so absolute an inherent right to the crown, but that he may, for the good of the nation, be set aside;" as all government was instituted for the benefit of the people, and not for the private interest of any particular family or individual.

He was very solicitous to have procured an act for the punishing those who were known to have received bribes from the court, in the parliament which was styled the Pension Parliament, in the reign of King Charles II. In the speech which he made on this subject in the subsequent parliament, he said, "Breach of trust is accounted the most infamous thing in the world, and this these men have been guilty of to the highest degree. Robbery and stealing our law punishes with death, and what deserve they who beggar and take away all that the nation has, under the pretence of disposing of the people's money for the honour and good of the king and kingdom." He proposed that a bill should be brought in, by which these hireling senators should be rendered incapable of serving in parliament for the future, or of enjoying any office, civil or military; and that they should be obliged, as far as they were able, to refund all the money which they had received for secret services to the crown; or, in other words, for betraying their constituents. "Our law," said he, "will not allow a thief to keep what he has gotten by stealth, but, of course, orders restitution; and shall these proud robbers of the nation not restore their ill-gotten goods." His defence of the bill of exclusion, and opposition to the measures of the court in other instances, rendered him so obnoxious to the duke of York, that by his influence he was committed prisoner to the Tower. On Thursday the 14th of January, 1685, he was brought to his trial in Westminster-hall, before the lord-chancellor Jefferies, who was his personal enemy, and who was constituted lord-high-steward on that

occasion He was not tried by the whole house of peers, though the parliament was then actually existing by prerogative; but by a select number of seventy seven peers, summoned by the lord-high-steward for that purpose. He protested against this irregularity; but his objections being overruled, the trial proceeded. However, he made so full and clear a defence, that the peers, appointed to try him, unanimously acquitted him.

After this Lord Delamer lived in a retired manner in the country, much honoured and beloved, till measures were concerted for bringing about the Revolution, in which he very heartily concurred. On the prince of Orange's landing in England, his lordship, in a few days, raised a great force in Cheshire and Lancashire, and therewith marched to join that prince. On the prince's arrival at Windsor, in his approach towards London, Lord Delamer, together with the marquess of Halifax and the earl of Shrewsbury, were sent with a message to King James, to remove from Whitehall. Lord Delamer, though no flatterer of the king in his prosperity, was too generous to insult him in his distress, and treated the fallen monarch with great respect. Walpole says, "that Lord Delamer, who was thrice imprisoned for his noble love of liberty, and who narrowly escaped the fury of James and Jefferies, lived to be commissioned by the prince of Orange to order that king to remove from Whitehall,—a message which he delivered with a generous decency."

Out of the forces which were raised by Lord Delamer to join the prince of Orange, a regiment of horse was afterwards formed, the command of which was for some time committed to him as colonel; and this regiment served in Ireland during the war in that kingdom. On the 14th of February, 1689, Lord Delamer was sworn a privy-councillor; and, on the 9th of April following, he was made chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer. On the 12th of the same month he was also made lord-lieutenant of the county and city of Chester. This last office, together with that of privy-councillor, he enjoyed for life; but as to the others, he continued in them for about one year only. Mr Walpole says, "He was dismissed by King William, to gratify the tories." However, it was not thought advisable to displace a nobleman who had contributed so much towards the Revolution in a disobliging manner; and, therefore, he was, by letters-patent, bearing date, Westminster, 17th of April, 1690, created earl of Warrington, in the county of Lancaster. His lordship was thus characterised in a poem, written in the reign of King William:—

"A brave asserter of his country's rights
A noble, but ungovernable fire,—
Such is the hero's,—did his breast inspire
Fit to assist to pull a tyrant down,
But not to please a prince that mounts the throne
Impatient of oppression, still he stood
His country's mound against th' invading flood.

He died in London on the 2d of January, 1693, in the forty-second year of his age, and was interred in the family vault of Bowden-church, in the county of Chester. He was a nobleman illustriously distinguished for his public spirit and his noble ardour in defence of the lib-

erties of his country. He considered patriotism essential to the character of a virtuous man. In his 'Advice to his Children,' he says, "There never yet was any good man who had not an ardent zeal for his country." In his private life he appears to have been a man of piety, worth, honour, and humanity. His works, which were published in one volume, 8vo, in 1694, contain his 'Advice to his Children,' an 'Essay on Government,' several of his speeches in parliament; fifteen small Political Tracts or Essays; and 'The Case of William, earl of Devonshire.' He also wrote 'Observations on the Case of Lord Russell,' for whom he had a great friendship, and who, on the morning of his execution, sent him a very kind message, expressive of his regard for him.

Sackville, Earl of Dorset.

BORN A. D. 1637.—DIED A. D. 1705.

CHARLES SACKVILLE, sixth earl of Dorset and Middlesex, one of the most accomplished libertines of the most licentious age of English history, was the direct descendant of Queen Elizabeth's Lord Buckhurst, and the inheritor of his ancestor's poetical genius.* He was privately educated, and, after making the grand tour, returned to England a little before the Restoration. In the first parliament subsequent to that event, he was chosen representative for East Grimstead in Sussex, and made a considerable figure in the house as a speaker. Charles II. offered him employment under the government, but he was too much set upon the gratification of his pleasures to engage seriously in any thing like business. The associate of Villiers, Rochester, Sedley, and other profligate men of fashion, he entered into much of their profligacy. Wood has preserved an anecdote sufficiently illustrative of the debauched habits of the young nobility after the Restoration. He informs us that Sackville, Sir Charles Sedley, and Sir Thomas Ogle, having, on one occasion, got themselves supremely drunk in a tavern near Covent-garden, went into a balcony, and commenced haranguing the populace, and playing a number of mountebank tricks. Not satisfied with the applause and notoriety thus obtained from the rabble, Sedley at last stripped himself naked, and in this style stood forth, and began to harangue the assembled crowd in such profane language, that even the indignation of the mob was roused, and an attack was made upon the house in which the three libertines had established themselves. For this misdemeanor they were indicted, and Sedley was fined £500. He employed Killigrew and some other friends to procure a remission of his fine, and they succeeded so far as to obtain from 'the merry monarch' liberty to divide it among themselves, which they did, exacting the fine from Sedley to the utmost farthing.

In 1665, on the breaking out of the first Dutch war, Sackville awoke to something like the consciousness of a manlier spirit than he had hitherto exhibited. He placed himself as a volunteer under his royal highness, and conducted himself well in the action of the 3d of June. It was on the evening preceding this engagement that he composed the well-known song,—'To all you Ladies now at Land' Soon after, he

was made a gentleman of the bed-chamber, and sent on several unimportant embassies to France.

Upon the death of his uncle Cranfield, earl of Middlesex, in 1674, the estates devolved upon him, and two years afterwards he succeeded by creation to the title. He also succeeded to his father in 1677. In 1684 he was constituted lord-lieutenant of Sussex. He early engaged for the prince of Orange, and accompanied the Princess Anne on her flight from her father's court. On the succession of the prince and princess of Orange to the throne, Dorset was sworn of the privy-council, and made lord-chamberlain of the household. He had the honour of being four times appointed regent of the kingdom during his majesty's absence. In 1698 he retired somewhat from public life; he spent the remainder of his years in comparative obscurity. He died at Bath in January 1705-6. Horace Walpole has passed this high eulogium upon Dorset, that "he had as much wit as his first master Charles II., or his contemporaries, Buckingham and Rochester, without the king's want of feeling, the duke's want of principle, or the earl's want of thought." Prior, Dryden, Congreve, Addison, and Pope, write in the praises of this nobleman. Pope's lines commencing—

"Dorset, the grace of courts, the muse's pride,

are well-known, and sufficiently complimentary.

Sir Cloudesley Shovell.

BORN A. D. 1650.—DIED A. D. 1707.

This brave man was descended from parents so extremely poor, that they were incapable of making any better provision for him in life than that of binding him to a shoemaker. His genius, ill-brooking such an occupation, and displaying itself even in the most early periods of his life, he was recommended by Sir Christopher Mings, who had casually noticed his conduct, to Sir John Narborough, who received him, and appointed him one of his cabin boys, when no more than nine years old. It is related of him that, while yet a boy, he undertook to swim through the line of the enemy's fire, in one of the piratical ports on the coast of Barbary, and convey some despatches to a distant ship, which it would have been extremely inconvenient for the commander-in-chief to have transmitted by any other less concealed means. These and some other actions impressed so high an opinion of him on the mind of his patron, that almost ere he had reached manhood, he was intrusted by Sir John with missions of great importance and delicacy. He was sent more than once to the dey of Tripoli to make remonstrances against the piratical conduct of his corsairs: his arguments proved insufficient to bend the haughty mind of the barbarian, but the observations made by him, when attempting to perform the objects of his mission, were such as enabled him to form a plan for the demolition of the enemy's squadron, notwithstanding it lay at anchor under the very guns of the town. Having communicated his project to the admiral, Sir John, without hesitation, appointed the young hero to superintend and conduct the execution of his own plan. The most complete suc-

cess crowned the attempt, and Shovell was rewarded for his skill and gallantry with the command of the Sapphire frigate.

From the month of March, 1675, the period when the occurrence just mentioned took place, to the year 1686, he remained constantly employed in the Mediterranean. The catalogue of his successes against the states of Barbary would be tedious in the recital. On his return to England, James II., in the midst of that ferment which preceded the revolution, entertained so high an opinion of Shovell's honour, as to appoint him captain of the Dover, although his political principles were known to be inimical to the wishes of the tottering sovereign.

Among the first naval appointments of the new reign was that of Mr Shovell to be captain of the Edgar, on board which ship he led the van of Admiral Herberts' squadron, at the battle in Bantry-bay, where he distinguished himself so remarkably, that King William conferred on him the honour of knighthood, at the same time when the earl of Torrington was raised to the peerage. At the time the French fleet made its sudden and unexpected appearance in the British channel, in the year 1690, Sir Cloudesley commanded a light detached squadron, owing to which circumstance he was prevented from sharing in the unmerited obloquy so generally cast on the many brave men who commanded under the earl of Torrington. He remained in constant employ; and having been in the interim promoted to be rear-admiral of the red, bore a distinguished share in the defeat of the Count de Tourville.

In 1694 Sir Cloudesley, who had been advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the red, was appointed second in command under Lord Berkeley, of the fleet sent into Camaret bay; and when the latter struck his flag for a time, which he did on the return of the armament to England, Sir Cloudesley succeeded him in his command, and, by the express order of King William, proceeded against Dunkirk. His employment ceased for a time, with his having commanded the escort which attended King William to Holland, immediately previous to the peace of Ryswick. Sir Cloudesley assumed the command of a strong fleet sent into the channel, as he afterwards did during the two succeeding years; a cautionary show of resistance, which, in all probability, tended to render the actual display of it unnecessary till after the accession of Queen Anne.

In 1703 he commanded the fleet of Britain stationed in the Mediterranean; and, in the ensuing year, commanded the van of the combined fleet in the battle of Malaga. In the ensuing year he was engaged in co-operating with the duke of Savoy at the siege of Toulon, the failure of which was certainly by no means ascribable to any want of exertion on the part of the fleet. On his return homewards, his vessel, the Association, together with two other ships of war, one carrying seventy, the other fifty guns, was unfortunately cast away on the rocks of Scilly, on the evening of the 22d of October, 1707. Sir Cloudesley's body, which was taken up on the Scilly islands, was conveyed to England, and buried, with great funeral pomp, in Westminster-abbey, at the public expense.

A particular circumstance attending his death has been preserved in the family of the earl of Romney, and is too interesting to be omitted: "The admiral was not drowned; but, after having reached the shore

in safety, was, according to the confession of an ancient woman, by her treacherously and inhumanly murdered. This atrocious act she, many years afterwards, when on her deathbed, revealed to the minister of the parish who attended her, declaring she could not die in peace till she had made this confession. She acknowledged having been led to commit this horrid deed for the sake of plunder; and that she then had in her possession, among other things, an emerald ring, which she had been afraid to sell lest it should lead to a discovery. This ring, which was then delivered to the minister, was by him given to James, earl of Berkeley—in possession of whose family it now remains—at his particular request, Sir Cloudesley Shovell and himself having lived on terms of the most intimate friendship. The manner of his death, as well as the discovery of the ring, is related differently by Campbell and others; but from the channel through which the communication was made, we have every reason to conclude that this account is undoubtedly most authentic."

Sir George Rooke.

BORN A. D. 1650.—DIED A. D. 1708.

SIR GEORGE ROOKE, son to Sir William Rooke, the descendant of a very ancient Kentish family, after serving for nearly twenty years in the royal navy as lieutenant and captain of divers ships of war, was, at the epoch of the revolution, captain of the Deptford.

The first enterprise in which we find him engaged, was the relief of Londonderry, at that time closely besieged, and severely pressed by the catholic army and the French allies of James. The eagerness and the ability which he displayed on this occasion interested the earl of Torrington so much in his favour, that he was, as it is said, in consequence of the express recommendation of that noble lord, advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the red. In this station he served under his unfortunate patron and friend at the battle of Beachy-head. In the month of May, 1692, a very few days only previous to the memorable encounter off Cape la Hogue, he was specially chosen by his colleagues to transmit to the admiralty board a loyal address from the flag-officers and captains of the fleet, professing, in the warmest terms, their attachment to their majesties and their government. He was on this occasion promoted to be vice-admiral of the blue, and bore a very conspicuous part in the great engagement with the French fleet.

In the ensuing spring he received the honour of knighthood, and was promoted to be vice-admiral of the white squadron. Almost immediately afterwards he was ordered to the Straits, for the purpose of convoying thither a very numerous fleet of merchant-ships, amounting to no less than four hundred sail. The force put under his command consisted of twenty-one ships of two decks, English and Dutch, two frigates, and five smaller vessels. The grand fleet, under the orders of the joint admirals, Shovell, Delawal, and Killegrew, for the better protection of so valuable a stake, saw Sir George in safety, so far as the distance of fifty leagues to the south-west of Ushant. Such, however, was the address of the enemy, the correctness of their information, and

the total want of it on the part of Britain, that the armaments of Brest and Toulon had formed a junction in Lagos bay, where they continued quiet, in expectation of their prize, without any of the commanders in the combined squadrons being in the slightest degree aware of the circumstance, or of the danger that awaited them. The misfortune, though great, was alleviated, in a considerable degree, by the ability and activity of Sir George; more than three-fourths of the fleet were preserved, and, of the ships sent for its protection, three only, and those belonging to the Dutch, who behaved with the most conspicuous gallantry on the occasion, fell into the hands of the Count de Tourville.

In 1698 Sir George was chosen representative for the town of Portsmouth, and he soon afterwards had an opportunity of displaying his abilities as a statesman as well as a naval commander. A formidable confederacy had been entered into between the northern powers of Russia, Denmark, and Poland, the avowed object of which was the destruction of the young king of Sweden. Britain could not calmly look on and permit so dreadful an invasion of the rights of nations; and Sir George was accordingly sent into the Sound with a fleet, fitted out with the intention of acting in conjunction with the Dutch, not only for the purpose of freeing Sweden from the terrors of annihilation, but compelling her confederated foes to agree to an equitable peace. The moderation and the firmness of the British admiral on this occasion, reflected the highest honour on his judgment as an officer, and his integrity as a man. While, on the one hand, he declared himself to the Danes and their allies fully determined to crush their injurious project, on the other he most peremptorily resisted every solicitation made to him by the youthful sovereign of Sweden to continue the war even for an instant longer than was absolutely necessary for the acquisition of a fair and honourable peace. His answer to the king himself is too memorable for us to omit:—"I was," said Sir George in reply to him, "sent hither to serve your majesty, but not to ruin the kingdom of Denmark." The treaty of Travendahl was accordingly concluded in despite of every remonstrance the impetuous Charles could make, and every objection which his heated imagination could propose.

On the prospect of a war with France in 1701, Sir George was again invested with the chief command; but that power considering the hour of hostility not yet arrived, peace remained unbroken till after the accession of Queen Anne. Among the very first acts of her majesty's reign, is to be reckoned the appointment of Sir George to be vice-admiral of England, and commander-in-chief of the British fleet. The first enterprise resolved on by government was the attack of Cadiz; and the failure of it, though not in the slightest degree imputable to Sir George, was most uncandidly attempted to be attributed to him by some of the virulent party-writers of the time, and by Burnet in particular. Fortune, however, seemed ready to afford him some recompense for his recent disappointment; for he had scarcely left Cadiz on his return home, when he received intelligence that a most valuable fleet of Spanish galleons had put into Vigo, together with their escort, commanded by that well-known officer, Mons. Chateau Renaud. Sir George instantly resolved on attempting the capture of the fleet, and succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations. The treasure and articles of merchandise taken and destroyed on this occasion amounted

to between four and five millions sterling; while the injury sustained in respect to ships of war, had never been exceeded, except in the instances of the destruction of the Armada, and the battle off Cape La Hogue. Twenty ships and vessels of war, fifteen of which were of two decks, together with thirteen galleons, were included in the destruction and capture made and effected on this occasion.

The year 1704 formed a very distinguished epoch in the life of Sir George. In the month of January the very honourable trust of conveying King Charles III. to Spain was confided to him. By his firmness added to the greatest complacency of manners, he got over a variety of delicate and absurd punctilios on this occasion, particularly one where the honour of the British flag was concerned, with the highest credit to himself, and the maintenance of his country's dignity. In respect to more active service, the capture of Gibraltar still stands with undiminished lustre, one of the brightest gems that ever ornamented British valour or British conduct, as well in respect to the execution as to the plan of the enterprise.

He is said, when on his deathbed, to have made the following impressive answer to some persons present at the execution of his will, and who could not refrain from making some remarks on the narrowness of his circumstances. "What I leave," said he, "'tis true, is not much, but what I do leave, has been honestly acquired. It never cost a seaman a tear, or the nation a farthing." From the time he quitted the line of active service, he was intolerably afflicted with the gout, which put a period to his life at a very premature age. This event took place on the 24th of January, 1708-9, Sir George being then in his fifty-eighth year. His executors caused a magnificent monument to be erected to him in Canterbury cathedral.

Henry, Earl of Clarendon.

BORN A. D. 1638.—DIED A. D. 1709.

HENRY, second earl of Clarendon, was born in 1638. He was early initiated by his father into the mysteries of politics, being employed by him in the king's secret correspondence, so that he generally passed half the day in writing in cypher or decyphering. In this trust young Hyde conducted himself with extreme faithfulness and the greatest prudence. After the restoration he was appointed chamberlain to her majesty.

On his father's death, he took his seat in the house of lords, and, though he warmly resented the usage which his parent had received at the hands of the court, yet, as he keenly opposed the bill of exclusion, he was taken into favour, and made a privy-councillor. On the accession of James II. he became lord-privy-seal, and afterwards lord-lieutenant of Ireland. His attachment, however, to the protestant cause would not allow him to support the king in his designs on the religion of the country, and he was ultimately stripped of his official employments.

He declined to take the oath of allegiance at the revolution, and was subjected to a brief imprisonment in the Tower in consequence. He

died in October, 1709. His state-letters and diary, from 1687 to 1690, have been published,[1] and form an interesting contribution to English history. He appears to have been a man of moderate talents, and simple domestic habits. His son, Lord Cornbury, was a person of considerable literary taste, and the friend and associate of Pope.

Sir John Holt.

BORN A. D. 1642.—DIED A. D. 1709.

SIR JOHN HOLT, lord-chief-justice of the court of king's bench, was the son of Sir Thomas Holt, serjeant-at-law, and recorder of Abingdon. He was educated at Abingdon and Oxford. In 1658 he entered of Gray's inn, and was soon called to the bar, where he rapidly attained eminence as a pleader.

In the reign of James II. he was made recorder of London, in which situation he conducted himself with great firmness and integrity. The court wished him to become subservient to their crooked policy; and, on his refusal to co-operate in some objectionable measures, especially the abolition of the test, he was discharged from office.

On the arrival of the prince of Orange, he was chosen a member of the convention-parliament, and appointed one of the managers for the commons in the conferences with the lords, relative to the abdication of the late monarch. He displayed great constitutional knowledge in this commission, and, as soon as the government was settled, was made lord-chief-justice of the court of king's bench, and a member of the privy-council. Bishop Burnet says, "That though he was a young man for so high a post, yet he maintained it all his time with a high reputation for capacity, integrity, courage, and great despatch; so that, since the lord-chief-justice Hale's time, that bench had not been so well filled as it was by him." In 1700, when Somers resigned the great seal, it was offered to Holt, but he declined it, modestly alleging his want of qualifications for so important a trust. As chief-justice, his merits were very great, and generally acknowledged. He was perfect master of the common law, and possessed a remarkable facility in clearly and logically expounding and applying its principles. His unimpeachable integrity is celebrated by the author of the Tatler in his 14th number.

A remarkable instance of his spirit and integrity is exhibited in the famous case of Lord Banbury. An indictment had been found at Hicks' hall against the defendant, Lord Banbury, by the name of Charles Knollys, Esq., for the murder of a Captain Lawson, who had married the sister of the defendant, and the indictment was removed by *certiorari* into the king's bench, where the defendant pleaded a misnomer in abatement, viz. that William Knollys, Viscount Wallingfort, by letters patent under the great seal of England, bearing date the 18th August, 2d Car. I. was created earl of Banbury, to have and to hold the dignity to him and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten; that William had issue Nicholas, who succeeded William in the dignity, from whom the dignity descended upon the defendant, as son and

[1] Oxford, 1763, 2 vols. 4to.

heir to Nicholas. The attorney-general replied to this plea, that the defendant, upon the 13th December, 4th William and Mary, had preferred a petition to the house of peers, that he might be tried by his peers; and that, after long consideration and debate, the lords had dismissed his petition, *secundum legem parliamenti*, disallowed his peerage, and made an order, that the defendant should be tried by the course of common law. To this replication the defender demurred, and the attorney-general joined in demurrer. The case was several times solemnly argued at the bar by Sir Edward Ward, attorney-general, Sir Thomas Trevor, solicitor-general, and Sir William Williams, counsel for the crown; and by Serjeant Pemberton, Serjeant Levinz, and Sir Bartholomew Shower, for the defendant. The court of king's bench unanimously decided in favour of Lord Banbury; but lord-chief-justice Holt chiefly distinguished himself on this occasion. He gave it as his opinion, in the strongest terms, that Lord Banbury was entitled to the privilege of peerage; and that the court of king's bench could pay no regard to the order of the house of lords, because peerage was an inheritance, and all inheritance must be determined by the law of the land, and not by an ordinance of the house of peers. He observed "that the house of lords has no jurisdiction in an original cause, because that supreme court is the last resort. If the parliament took cognizance of original causes, the party would lose his appeal, which the common law indulgeth in all cases, for which reason the parliament is kept for the last resort; and causes come not there until they have tried all judicatories. If a peer commits treason, or any other crime, he ought to be tried by his peers; but that does not give them any right to deprive him of his peerage, when the discussion of his title does not come in a legal manner before them. The house of peers has jurisdiction over its own members, and is a supreme court; but it is the law which has invested them with such ample authorities; and, therefore, it is no diminution of their power to say that they ought to observe those limits which this law has prescribed for them, which, in other respects, hath made them so great." His lordship said also, "that as to the law of parliament, which had been talked of, he did not know of any such law; and every law which binds the subjects of this realm ought to be either the common law and usage of the realm, or an act of parliament." The lord-chief justice was afterwards summoned to give his reasons for this judgment to the house of peers, and a committee was appointed to hear and report them to the house. But Holt refused to give the reasons for his judgment in so extrajudicial a manner. He said, "that if the record was removed before the peers by writ of error, so that it came judicially before them, he would give his reasons very willingly; but, if he gave them in this case, it would be of very ill consequence to all judges hereafter in all cases."

In 1698 a remarkable cause was tried before his lordship at Guildhall, wherein Richard Lane brought an action against Sir Robert Cotton and Sir Thomas Frankland, as postmasters-general, "for that a letter of the plaintiff's being delivered into the post-office, to be sent by the post from London to Worcester, by the negligence of the defendants in the execution of their office, the said letter was opened in the post-office, and divers exchequer bills therein inclosed were taken away." In the course of the trial some difficult points of law being started, the

jury brought in a special verdict. The case was several times argued at the bar, and three of the judges were of opinion that judgment ought to be given for the defendants; but Holt gave his opinion in favour of the plaintiff. He said "It would be very hard upon the subject, if the action, brought in this case was not a good one; for as the crown has a revenue of £100,000 per annum for the management of the post-office, care ought to be taken that letters were safely conveyed, and that the subject should be secured in their properties." Judgment was, however, given for the defendants. But a writ of error was afterwards brought, and allowed on the reasons which had been advanced by Holt.

In the second year of Queen Anne, a very important cause was agitated by the judges, of what was then called 'The queen's bench,' relative to the right of election of members of parliament. On this occasion, Holt greatly distinguished himself as a steady friend to the liberties of the subject. An action had been brought against the constables of Aylesbury, at the suit of one Ashby, a burgess of that town, for refusing to receive his vote in an election of a member of parliament: the constables being the returning officers in that borough. This was tried at the assizes, and the constables were cast in damages. But a motion was made in the court of queen's bench, in arrest of judgment. When the case came to be argued, three of the judges, Powel, Powis, and Gould, gave it as their opinion, that no wrong had been done to the man, or at least none considerable enough to deserve the notice of the law; that the judging of elections belonged to the house of commons; that as this action was the first of its kind, so, if it was allowed, it would bring on an infinity of suits, and involve all officers concerned in elections in great difficulties. Lord-chief-justice Holt, however, differed totally from his brethren on this subject, and expressed his surprise at some arguments which they had advanced. He maintained that the plaintiff had the right and privilege to give his vote; and if he was hindered in the enjoyment or exercise of that right, he might legally bring an action against the disturber. "If the plaintiff," he said, "has a right, he must of necessity have a means to vindicate and maintain it, and a remedy, if he is injured, in the exercise or enjoyment of it; and, indeed, it is a vain thing to imagine a right without a remedy, for want of right and want of remedy are reciprocal. It is no objection to say that it will occasion multiplicity of actions; for if men will multiply injuries, actions must be multiplied too; for every man that is injured ought to have his recompense. And if public officers will infringe men's rights, they ought to pay greater damages than other men, to deter and hinder other officers from the like offences. To allow this action will make public officers more careful to observe the constitutions of cities and boroughs, and not to be so partial as they commonly are in all elections, which is indeed a great and growing mischief, and tends to the prejudice of the peace of the nation. The right of voting at the election of burgesses, is a thing of the highest importance, and so great a privilege, that it is a great injury to deprive the plaintiff of it. The right that a man has to give his vote to the election of a person to represent him in parliament, there to concur to the making of laws which are to bind his liberty and property, is a most transcendent thing, and of a high nature, and the law takes notice of it as such in divers statutes. The right of voting is a right in the

plaintiff by the common law, and consequently he may maintain an action for the obstruction of it." He concluded that the plaintiff ought to have judgment; but, the majority of the judges having given a different opinion, judgment was given for the defendants. On the 14th of January, 1703, this judgment was reversed in the house of lords, and judgment given for the plaintiff by fifty lords against sixteen. Holt supported his opinion in the house of peers, and observed, "That whenever such a cause should come before him, he should direct the jury to make the returning officer pay well for depriving an elector of his vote. It is," said he, "denying him his English right; and if this action is not allowed, a man may for ever be deprived of it. It is a great privilege to choose such persons as are to bind a man's life and property by the laws they make." But the affair of the electors and returning officers of Aylesbury did not end here. In December 1704, John Paty, and four others, who had also commenced and prosecuted actions at common law against the constables of Aylesbury, were committed to Newgate by a warrant from the speaker of the house of commons, for breach of the privileges of that house. The counsel for the Aylesbury electors having moved for an habeas corpus, they were brought up to the court of king's bench; and when the judges came to deliver their opinions, three of them were for remanding the prisoners to Newgate; but Holt gave his opinion in the clearest and strongest manner that the prisoners ought to be discharged. The following are the most remarkable passages in the chief-justice's speech on this occasion:—

"I am very sorry I am forced to differ from my brethren in opinion; but whatever inconveniences or dangers I may incur, I think myself obliged to act according to my conscience. I must declare it is my opinion, that the prisoners ought to be discharged, because it is an illegal commitment; and Magna Charta says, 'Quid nemo imprisonetur nisi per legem terræ.' And if prosecuting a legal action in a legal method can justify a commitment, then no Englishman's freedom is safe.

"'Tis by the law of the land that the house of commons have their being, therefore it can never be in the power of the commons to control the law. For my part, I know no privilege of parliament that can be valid, and at the same time contradict the law of England.

"It is by Magna Charta that the liberty of an Englishman is preserved; and without destroying the constitution of England, the liberty of an Englishman cannot be taken from him, but for a legal cause.

"It is pretended, that acting legally is a breach of the privileges of the house of commons, and that we are not judges of it. This is impossible; when the law, by which the house of commons sit, justifies the prosecuting this action; and 'tis not in the power of the house of commons to supersede that power which gives them their essence.

"If we can discharge a person committed *per mandatum regis, a fortiori*, I think we can discharge from a commitment of the house of commons.

"The house of commons, 'tis true, have a power over their own members, and may commit them; but to say that their commitment of any other person, though never so unlawful, is unexaminable, will tend to make Englishmen slaves, which, while I sit here, I can never consent to."

The chief-justice then observing that several members of the house

of commons were in court, added as follows:—"I hope never to be overawed from doing justice; and I think we sit here to administer equal justice to all her majesty's subjects; and, therefore, it is my judgment that these prisoners ought to be discharged." However, as the three other judges had given a contrary opinion, the prisoners were remanded to Newgate. Upon this, John Paty, and another of the prisoners, moved for a writ of error, to bring the matter before the house of lords. This writ was only to be obtained by petitioning the queen that the judgment of the court of queen's bench might be brought before her majesty in parliament. The commons were alarmed at these petitions, and carried up an address to the queen, desiring her majesty not to grant the writ of error. The opinion of the judges was taken upon this; and ten of them, of whom Holt was one, agreed, that, in civil matters, a petition for a writ of error was a petition of right, and not of grace, and that for the queen not to grant a petition of right would be plainly a breach of law, and of the coronation oath. The house of peers too, having received a petition from the prisoners for relief, passed several votes, among which were the following:—

"That neither house of parliament has any power, by any vote or declaration, to create to themselves any new privilege that is not warranted by the known laws and customs of parliament.

"That every freeman of England, who apprehends himself to be injured, has a right to seek redress by action at law; and that the commencing and prosecuting an action at common law against any person, not entitled to privilege of parliament, is legal.

"That the house of commons, in committing to Newgate John Paty, &c. for commencing and prosecuting an action at the common law, against the constables of Aylesbury, for not allowing their votes in election of members to serve in parliament, upon pretence that their so doing was contrary to a declaration, a contempt of the jurisdiction, and a breach of the privilege of that house, have assumed to themselves alone a legislative authority, by pretending to attribute the force of a law to their declaration; have claimed a jurisdiction not warranted by the constitution, and have assumed a new privilege to which they can have no title by the laws and customs of parliament; and have thereby, as far as in them lies, subjected the rights of Englishmen, and the freedom of their persons, to the arbitrary votes of the house of commons."

This affair at length occasioned so violent a contest between the two houses, that Queen Anne could find no method of putting an end to the dispute but by dissolving the parliament, which was accordingly done on the 5th of April, 1705.

The following anecdote is related of this excellent judge:—A serious riot having occurred in Holborn, in consequence of the discovery of a scheme for kidnapping and carrying off young people of both sexes to the plantations,—a party of the guards was sent for; but the commanding officer used the precaution to acquaint the chief-justice with what had taken place, and to request that he would countenance the interference of the military by sending some constables along with them. The officer having delivered his message, the chief-justice said to him, "Suppose the populace should not disperse at your appearance, what are you to do then?" "In that case," replied the officer, "we have orders to fire upon them." "Have you, Sir?" replied Holt. "Then

take notice of what I say. If there be one person killed, and you are tried before me, I will take care that you, and every soldier of your party, shall be hanged. Go back to those who sent you, and acquaint them that no officer of mine shall attend soldiers; and let them know, at the same time, that the laws of this kingdom are not to be executed by the sword. These matters belong to the civil power, and your soldiers have nothing to do with them." The chief-justice then proceeded himself to the scene of riot, accompanied by a few constables, with whom he succeeded in dispersing the mob.—Sir John died in 1709

Sir Robert Atkyns.

BORN A. D. 1621.—DIED A. D 1709.

SIR ROBERT ATKYNS, lord-chief-baron of the exchequer, was descended from an ancient and opulent family in Gloucestershire; and it has been remarked as a singular circumstance, that for more than three hundred years consecutively, some member of this family always presided in one of the superior courts of law. His father, Sir Edward Atkyns, was a judge of the court of common pleas during the commonwealth, and shared with Hale, Rolle, Wyndham, and other judges, the merit of the various improvements in the administration of the law which took place at that period. Immediately after the restoration, Sir Edward Atkyns was named as one of the judges in the special commission for the trial of the regicides, and appointed a baron of the exchequer, in which latter office he continued till his death, which took place in 1669, at the age of eighty-two. Sir Robert Atkyns was born in 1621, and educated at Baliol-college, Oxford.

In 1661 he was made a knight of the bath, at the coronation of Charles II., and in 1672 was appointed a judge in the court of common pleas. In 1680 he retired from public life. But in July, 1683, on the imprisonment of Lord Russell, Sir Robert being applied to for his advice, gave it in a manner equally honourable to his courage and learning. "No fear of danger," he observes, "shall hinder me from performing the duty we owe one to another,—to counsel those who need our advice how to make their just defence when they are called in question for their lives." He then goes on with a luminous exposition of the law of treason, in the course of which he takes occasion to declare, that "there is, nor ought to be, no such thing as constructive treason."

In 1684, on the exhibition of an information against Sir William Williams, speaker of the house of commons, "for appointing a certain seditious and infamous libel, entitled, 'The information of Thomas Dangerfield,' to be printed and published," the defender pleaded to the jurisdiction of the court, and Sir Robert, in support of the defender's plea, undertook to prove "that these being matters transacted in parliament, and by the parliament, the court of king's bench ought not to take cognizance of them, nor had any jurisdiction to judge or determine them." Sir Robert Atkyns was returned to the only parliament called by James II., as representative of the county of Gloucester, but he does not appear to have taken at that time any active part in the debates. In the

reign of James II. he composed another legal argument, the subject of which was the king's power to dispense with penal statutes, and which was suggested by the well-known case of Sir Edward Hales. In this treatise he considers at large the doctrine of the king's dispensing power. It is clearly and candidly written, and the truth of the reasoning against the royal prerogative contended for by the judges in Hale's case will hardly be denied at the present day.

Sir Robert zealously promoted the revolution, and was made lord-chief-baron of the exchequer in May, 1689. In October following he succeeded the marquess of Halifax as speaker in the house of lords, and sat as speaker till the great seal was given to Sir John Somers in 1693. In the month of October of this last year, when the lord-mayor-elect was sworn in before him, Sir Robert made a singular speech, in which, after drawing a terrible picture of the designs of the French monarch, he hints his shrewd suspicions that "perhaps he (Louis) does take upon him to know, by the help of some confederacy with him that is prince of the power of the air, that the wind shall not serve in such or such a corner until such a time. He knoweth when our royal navy is to be divided, and when it is united. And shall I guess how he comes to have such intelligence? That were well worth the hearing," continues his lordship—and we can fancy the worshipful mayor and aldermen pricking up their ears to hear the chief-baron tell the curious tale—"I would but guess at it," his lordship goes on to say, "and I would in my guesses forbear saying any thing that is dishonourable to any among ourselves." He then edifies the worthy citizens with his views of the nature and employments of evil spirits, and draws this most potent conclusion, that "wicked spirits hovering in the air" report to Louis from time to time what the English fleets and armies are doing!

The best apology that we can make for this extraordinary exhibition, is to remind the reader that Sir Robert was at this time beyond his seventieth year. He retired from the bench in June, 1695, but lived to the age of eighty-eight. His writings have been published in one volume, octavo, under the title of 'Parliamentary and Political Tracts.' His son, Sir Robert Atkyns has obtained some celebrity as an antiquarian writer.

William Dampier.

BORN A. D. 1652.—DIED A. D. 1712.

THIS celebrated navigator was born in 1652. He was descended from a good family in Somersetshire, but losing his father when very young, and being of an errant disposition, he was bound by his guardians apprentice to the master of a trading vessel belonging to Weymouth.

After seeing a variety of service, and being wounded in the war with the Dutch, he sailed for Campeachy with a Captain Hudsel, on a mercantile speculation. The success of this voyage encouraged him to take a second trip, during which he conceived the idea of exploring the Musquito shore in company with a Mr Hobby. They had proceeded no farther on their voyage than the west end of Jamaica, when all the

men resolved to go on a buccaneering expedition to the Spanish main, and Dampier himself was also prevailed on to accompany them. After an attack on Porto-Bello, they set forth on the 5th of April, 1680, across the isthmus of Darien, and when they reached the South seas, embarked in such canoes and vessels as the Indians furnished them with. By the 23d of April they reached Panama, and, after a fruitless attack on Puebla Nova—in which assault they lost Captain Sawkins, who till then acted as their commander—they steered their course to the southward for Peru. They continued in the South seas, variously occupied in cruising, but with indifferent success, against the enemy, and quarrelling amongst themselves, till the month of April, 1681. A separation then took place between the two contending parties; the most numerous body continued with a Captain Sharp. Dampier, with the remainder, amounting to about fifty persons, embarked to seek their fortunes in other quarters, furnished only with a large boat, or launch, and one or two canoes.

After escaping a multitude of dangers from the Spanish guarda-costas, Dampier and his people agreed to run on shore, and return back over the isthmus to the gulf of Mexico. They began their march on the 1st of May, 1681, and, after a tedious and dangerous journey of twenty-three days, got on board a buccaneer lying near the mouth of the river Conception, commanded by Captain Tristram, a Frenchman. This vessel, with several others manned with crews of the same profession, continued cruising with moderate success till the month of July, 1682, when they put into Virginia. A new band of adventurers was formed here in the following year, consisting of several of those who came from the South seas with Dampier, and some newly entered men, making altogether a crew of seventy persons. Their vessel, which was called the Cygnet, was well-equipped for the intended service, mounting eighteen guns, and well-stored with every thing necessary for a cruise in the South seas, whither it was determined to proceed. They sailed from Virginia on their intended voyage on the 23d of April, 1683,—passed through the straits of Le Maire, and round Terra del Fuego,—and arrived at the island of Juan Fernandez, March 22d, 1684. Having refreshed their people, they sailed from Juan Fernandez, after a stay of sixteen days, and cruised in the South seas with very good success, being afterwards joined by several adventurers in the same line. They made some valuable prizes, but were disappointed in the object of their principal hope and pursuit, the capture of the Spanish fleet bound from Lima to Panama They were, however, by turns unfortunate and successful in a variety of petty enterprises which they undertook; the most memorable of these was the surprise of the city of Leon, which they sacked and burned. They continued afterwards to cruise on the coast of Mexico till the 31st of March, 1686, when, having parted company with all their former companions, and being now reduced to the number of one hundred and fifty persons on board one ship and a tender, Dampier and his party took their departure from Cape Corrientes, on the coast of California, for the East Indies.

They made the island of Guam on the 20th of May, and on the 2d of June sailed from Guam for Mindanoa, one of the Philippine islands, which they reached on the 22d of the same month. They continued at this place till the middle of January, 1687, when they left the river

Mindanoa, intending to cruise off Manilla. The repeated feuds and disturbances among the crew,—their irregular, riotous mode of conducting themselves,—and, above all, the disreputable occupation itself, tended at this time to induce Dampier to quit them. After a little altercation, he was at length put ashore on the isle of Nicholas, with a Mr Hall, and a man named Ambrose; and having escaped many dangers, he arrived at Bencoolen, where he was well-received, and appointed master-gunner of the Dutch fort there. Still, however, he continued uneasy, anxiously looking for an opportunity to return to England, which at last he happily effected by creeping through one of the port-holes of the fort, and getting on board a ship belonging to the English East India company.

Dampier himself does not make any mention of his being engaged in any subsequent voyage for the space of eight years, but having about the year 1698 been recommended by Mr Montague, president of the royal society, to the earl of Oxford, at that time first lord of the admiralty, he was, on the 26th of July, raised to the rank of captain in the royal navy, and appointed to the Roebuck, a small frigate, at that time under equipment for a voyage of discovery. In this vessel, which mounted only twelve guns, he sailed from the Downs on the 14th of January, 1698–9. As the vessel had been purposely victualled and fitted for a voyage of twenty months' duration, he proceeded by Teneriffe and the Brazils to the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence to New Holland,—an immense tract of country, little known previous to his time, and in the examination of which he made very considerable progress. The Roebuck was ultimately wrecked on Ascension island, but Dampier and his crew were relieved from their confinement on the island by the arrival of some English vessels. It appears that a good deal of censure was indulged in on this occasion in some quarters. Dampier feelingly complains, in his dedication to the earl of Pembroke, of the third volume of his voyages, "The world is apt to judge of every thing by the success; and whoever has ill fortune, will hardly be allowed a good name. This, my lord, was my unhappiness in my late expedition in the Roebuck, which foundered through perfect age near the island of Ascension. I suffered extremely in my reputation by that misfortune, though I comfort myself with the thoughts, that my enemies could not charge any neglect upon me; and since I have the honour to be acquitted by your lordship's judgment, I should be very humble not to value myself upon so complete a vindication."

The London Gazette contains the following notification: "St James's, April 18th, 1703. Captain William Dampier being prepared to depart on another voyage to the West Indies, had the honour to kiss her majesty's hand on Friday last, being introduced by his royal highness the lord-high-admiral." It appears, however, that he did not sail on this expedition till the year 1704. In the course of it he took the town of Puna in the South seas, but putting into Batavia on his return, he was imprisoned by the Dutch, who seized on all his effects. He returned to England after his release, but is not known to have ever afterwards been employed in the royal navy. There is indeed a report that he was dismissed or suspended from the service, by the sentence of a court-martial, for misbehaviour, and ill-treatment of his officers and people; but this circumstance is by no means sufficiently established to warrant

our positive assertion of it. He afterwards accompanied Captain Woodes Rogers in his voyage round the world, in the capacity of master, and returned with him to England, where he arrived on the 1st of October, 1711. No particulars are known relative to him after this time. The history of his voyages, particularly the first, has been translated into most European languages. It was first published in three vols. 8vo. London, 1697.

We shall present our readers with one passage from Dampier's narrative, which sufficiently proves that he was an acute observer, and advanced in intelligence, on some points, beyond his age. After narrating the circumstances of an atrocious attack upon a small English trading-vessel, he proceeds thus:—"The people of Barcalis, therefore, though they are Malayans as the rest of the country, yet they are civil enough engaged thereto by trade; for the more trade, the more civility, and, on the contrary, the more barbarity and inhumanity. For trade has a strong influence upon all people who have found the sweets of it, bringing with it so many of the conveniences of life as it does; and I believe, that even the poor Americans, who have not yet tasted the sweets of it by an honest and just commerce, even such of them as yet seem to court no more than a bare subsistence of meat and drink, and a clout to cover their nakedness. That extensive continent hath yet millions of inhabitants, both the Mexican and Peruvian parts, who are still ignorant of trade; and they would be fond of it, did they once experience it, though they at present live happy enough, by enjoying such fruits of the earth as nature has bestowed on those places where their lot is fallen;—and it may be, they are happier now, than they may hereafter be, when more known to the avaricious world. For, with trade, they will be in danger of meeting with oppression,—men not being content with a free traffic, and a just and reasonable gain, especially in those remote countries; but they must have the current run altogether in their own channel,—though to the depriving the poor natives they deal with of their natural liberty, as if all mankind were to be ruled by their laws. The islands of Sumatra and Java can sufficiently witness this; the Dutch having in a manner engrossed all the trade of these, and several of the neighbouring islands, to themselves; not that they are able to supply them with a quarter of what they want, but because they would have all the produce of them at their own disposal. Yet even in this they are short, and may be still more disappointed of the pepper trade, if other people would seek it; for the greater part of the island of Sumatra propagates this plant; and the natives would readily comply with any who would come to trade with them, notwithstanding the great endeavours the Dutch make against it; for this island is so large, populous, and productive of pepper, that the Dutch are not able to draw all to themselves. Indeed, this place about Barcalis is in a manner at their devotion; and, for ought I know, it was through a design of being revenged on the Dutch, that Captain Johnston lost his life. I find the Malayans, in general, are implacable enemies to the Dutch; and all seems to arise from an earnest desire they have for a free trade, which is restrained by them not only here, but in the spice islands, and all other places where they have any power.

"But it is freedom only must be the means to encourage any of these remote people to trade, especially such of them as are industrious, and

whose inclinations are bent this way, as most of the Malayans are, and the major part of the people of the East Indies, even from the Cape of Good Hope eastward to Japan—both continent and islands. For though, in many places, they are limited by the Dutch, English, Danes, &c. and restrained from a free trade with other nations; yet have they continually shown what uneasiness that is to them. And how dear has this restraint cost the Dutch!—when, yet, neither can they, with all their forts and guardships, secure the trade wholly to themselves, any more than the Barlaventa fleet can secure the trade of the West Indies to the Spaniards."

Sidney Godolphin, Earl of Godolphin.

DIED A. D. 1712.

FEW men have played so important a part in the theatre of public life, without attracting greater attention than has been given to this accomplished statesman. We have been unable to discover any continuous account of his life more satisfactory than would be furnished by the commonest obituary, and, in consequence, have been obliged to resort for the following particulars, scanty as they are, to incidental notices scattered over a vast multiplicity of volumes.[1] He was descended from an ancient family in Cornwall, where he was born somewhere about the middle of the seventeenth century. His father, Francis Godolphin, was noted for his loyalty during the civil war, and at the Restoration was created a knight of the Bath. Sydney was the third son of Sir Francis. If we are to believe Swift,[2] he was originally intended for a trade; but be that as it may, he received a good education, and at an early age obtained the situation of page, and subsequently that of groom of the chamber, in the court of Charles the Second. But it seems to have been soon discovered that his talents lay towards business, for in 1678 he was twice sent as envoy to Holland on missions of considerable importance, and in the following year was named a commissioner of the treasury, and a member of the privy-council. In the same year, at the election of Charles's second parliament, he was chosen member for the borough of St Mawes. From the politics of his family, as well as from his official situation, it is evident that he belonged to the court-party; but he does not seem to have had any alliance with the duke of York's faction, as he gave his vote for the exclusion bill. By a reference to the parliamentary history, we find that he sat in the 3d, 4th, and 5th parliaments of Charles, as member for Helston, in which borough his family had probably some influence, since the Sydney Godolphin,[3] who is panegyrized by Hobbes in the preface to the Leviathan, and who, in all likelihood, was uncle to the subject of this memoir, sat for Helston in one or two of the parliaments of Charles the First. In 1684 he was made Baron Rialton, and first

[1] It is not wonderful that such compilations as those of Chalmers and Aikin, should pass over in silence the life of a man, whose memoirs it would have required some labour to write; but we were surprised to find Godolphin's existence not once alluded to by the Biographia Britannica and Rees' Cyclopedia.

[2] History of the Four last years of the Queen. [3] Antony Wood.

commissioner of the treasury, having shortly before been one of the secretaries of state; "which office," says Burnet,[4] "he left, because he disliked the drudgery." On the accession of James he was compelled to resign his place in the treasury to the earl of Rochester, but had art or influence sufficient to obtain the appointment of chamberlain to the queen. Burnet mentions, that before he left the treasury, he was prevailed upon to sign an order for the levying of the customs as usual, though no parliament had yet granted them to James, and it is not irrational to conclude, that his office, in the queen's household, was the reward of his compliance with this illegal request.[5] Swift says—we know not how truly—that Godolphin entertained a warm attachment for Mary of Modena, James's youthful queen; and, after the Revolution, was in the habit of sending her letters 'full of *double entendre*,' and presents of such things as are agreeable to ladies. It is the common opinion that he secretly favoured, and in so far as the timidity of his nature permitted, forwarded the Revolution, and though there is no very decisive evidence on the point, there is enough to make the opinion probable. He carried on his negotiations, however, with such secrecy, that James never once suspected him, but appointed him a commissioner to negotiate with the prince of Orange; for he had the decency, rare at the time, not to abandon instantaneously the master whose favours he had received, and whose government he had virtually approved of by retaining his place. Even after the Revolution he seems to have for a short time identified himself with the Jacobite party, since he voted for a regency, and opposed the change of the convention into a parliament. But the stream of power had now fairly set in against the Stuart family, and Godolphin was too politic a statesman openly to cling to a falling party. In 1689 he was made a member of the privy-council, and was again appointed a commissioner of the treasury, "in which office," says Burnet, "his calm and cold way," and his knowledge of business so suited the king, that he considered him more than either of his two colleagues, and in 1690 created him first lord of the treasury. His admission to office was at first one of those sacrifices of his own feelings, which William, unfortunately for his own peace and for the prosperity of the country, thought fit to make in the fruitless hope of propitiating the tory party; but Godolphin's abilities were so great, that the court was glad to obtain the advantage of them even after this erroneous policy was corrected in 1694, and his zeal for his principles was too much governed by a trimming policy to make him object to an arrangement which preserved him in office. It is a singular and melancholy fact, that, at this very time, Godolphin was engaged in a treasonable correspondence with the court at St Germains. Macpherson says that he and Marlborough were among the first to offer their services to James. It is difficult to believe that an English minister should be thus lost to all feelings of honour; but the Stuart papers, brought to light by Dalrymple and Macpherson, prove, beyond

[4] History of his own times.

[5] We confess that this charge has never, to our knowledge, been brought against Godolphin; but it wears a strong semblance of truth, especially when it is remembered that James was not very likely spontaneously to confer the place on a man who had voted for the exclusion bill.

all question, Godolphin's treachery.[6] In 1696 an accusation of treasonable intercourse was brought against him by Sir John Fenwick, whose trial and disclosures form so prominent a part of the history of William's reign, which so much alarmed him, that he retired from office. During the following years he seems to have been actively employed in opposing the whig party, which was now rapidly regaining the supremacy it had possessed immediately after the Revolution. Annoyed by the lukewarm support, and sometimes decided opposition which the whigs gave to his favourite measures, William was driven again into the arms of the tories, several of whose leaders he restored to power, amongst whom was Godolphin, once again placed at the head of the treasury. Finding still less sincerity among his new allies, the king, in the latter part of his reign, reposed his whole confidence in the whigs, who, with all their faults, were the only true friends to the Revolution, and Godolphin was supplanted by the earl of Carlisle. But no sooner had the grave closed over William, than his successor, who, if we are to believe Noble,[7] was extremely attached to Godolphin in his youth, advanced him to the elevated post of lord-high-treasurer of England. It is said that he at first resolutely declined office, but yielded at length to the solicitations of his personal and political friend, Marlborough, who declared, that unless Godolphin was treasurer, he could not undertake the management of the war on the continent. He soon found that it would be impossible to carry on the government without gaining the support of the whigs by admitting their leaders to office. In 1703 and 1704 he seems to have been gradually paving the way for a union with him; and after the elections in 1705, when it was found that the whigs had obtained a decided majority in the new parliament, both he and Marlborough deserted their old friends and principles, and flung themselves into the arms of the opposite party. It is not our intention to detail the history of his administration, for which a reference must be made to the historical sketch of this period: suffice it to say, that the affairs of the country were never conducted more vigorously, or with more splendid success. But in those days of intrigue it was not to be expected that any administration should long maintain itself. By Godolphin's influence, Harley had been made secretary of state in 1704. This crafty politician contrived to ingratiate himself so well with the queen, that he soon aspired to the chief rather than a subordinate place in the government. Godolphin perceiving his designs demanded his dismissal, and in 1708, and by dint of threats of resignation on the part both of Marlborough and of himself, obtained it; but his conduct drew down on him Anne's unappeasable displeasure. No sooner were the measures of the queen and the tory party ripe for execution than the whigs, one after another, were summarily dismissed from office, and on the 7th of August, 1710, Godolphin was ordered to break the white staff. With the natural insolence of a triumphant faction, the tories endeavoured to fasten on him the charge of mal-administration of the public funds; but their malice completely failed. In an able pamphlet,

[6] These papers also prove a fact which has been stated very doubtfully by Coxe in his life of Marlborough, that Godolphin, and not Marlborough, first communicated to the St Germains court the design entertained by the English government of attacking Brest harbour, which was, in consequence, frustrated.

[7] Continuation of Grainger.

generally, and on good grounds ascribed to Sir Robert Walpole, the accusation was fully refuted; and indeed his enemies showed their inability to bring any thing like plausible proof by refusing to print the report of the committee appointed to examine into the matter. Godolphin did not long survive his disgrace. He died of the stone in September, 1712, at a seat of the duke of Marlborough's, and was buried in Westminster abbey.

The times in which Godolphin flourished were distinguished by a venality and baseness in public men, such as no other period of our history presents. There never was a race of politicians more totally destitute of any thing like high principle than that which figured in the two reigns preceding, and the two following the Revolution. The flood of iniquity, which coming in after the Restoration, had swept away all the landmarks of private morality, had extended its noxious influence equally to public life, and years elapsed before the councils of the realm, or even the courts of justice, were freed from its loathsome presence. It seemed as if the nation, in its ever-memorable struggle against the arbitrary designs of Charles the First, had drawn largely on the public virtue of many future years, and had entailed the evils of corruption and degeneracy on several succeeding ages, by its improvident expenditure. Entering into office at the time when this degeneracy was in the full plenitude of its power, it ought not, perhaps, to be matter of surprise that Godolphin's mind received an incurable warp from the principles of high unbending rectitude, nor indeed was there such an improvement in the breed of statesmen at the time of his death, as to make his want of consistency at all remarkable. We must, therefore, make large allowances in consideration of the circumstances in which he was placed. The evil times on which it was his lot to fall must palliate the sentence of condemnation which it would be right to pronounce on a man, who, at any other period, should have so far forgotten his integrity. It would be too much to expect every politician to be a Marvell or a Somers, in an age of Sunderlands and Churchills. Yet, after making all these allowances, it is impossible to entertain the slightest respect for Godolphin's character. In every sense of the term, he was a time-serving politician. An inherent littleness marks all his conduct. Not one action can be pointed out, in the whole of his long career, which savours of high or even determined principle. His maintenance of a correspondence with the court at St Germains, and his communication to our enemies of projects which he could have known only as a member of the government which planned them, are alone sufficient to cast a deadly blight on his character for honesty. Had it not been for his notorious caution and timidity of nature, it is evident that he would have been deeply engaged in the plots of the Jacobite party, to which, indeed, he was all along privy. But besides this, his acceptance of a place from a sovereign whom he had voted to exclude from the throne, his close adherence to James until the last shadow of his power had vanished, and his readiness to hold office under his supplanter in a few short months afterwards,—his virtual approval of universal toleration under James, and his vehement support of the bill against occasional conformity under William,—his active promotion of the union, and his subsequent efforts to render it odious to the whole nation,—his bitter opposition to the whigs in 1702, and his unblushing desertion to them

in 1705, are traits in his conduct which at once quash all pretensions to honour or consistency. He was, in a word, deeply branded with the characteristic mark of the age,—a total disregard for personal reputation amidst the vehement struggles of party. Such men may be valuable for their talents, but they can never be respectable.

If this estimate of his character be correct, it is wonderful that he should have obtained so fair a reputation as is generally awarded to him. But he had a species of inferior virtue which not unfrequently receives a much higher meed of praise than it deserves. He was perfectly honest and incorruptible in the management of the treasury. During the whole time of his continuance in office, no charge of peculation having the least degree of plausibility, was brought against him; and at his death it was found, that although he had been in the treasury for the greater part of thirty years, during nine of which he was lord-treasurer, he had not increased his estate to the value of four thousand pounds. We are far from wishing to detract from the praise due to him on this account. It would, perhaps, be no high compliment to say of an English minister of the present day, that he had not enriched himself by embezzlement of the public funds; but in Godolphin's time, the rarity of such an occurrence makes it noteworthy. He was also remarkable for the careful fulfilment of his engagements. "He was a person of strict honour," says Shaftesbury in a MS. letter, "and usually performed more than he promised." So that, although the sternness of his countenance and his forbidding manners alienated the minds of spectators, yet men of all parties could not help respecting him. "His notions," writes Burnet, "were for the court; but his incorruptibility and sincere way of managing the treasury, created in all people a very high esteem for him."[8]

Of Godolphin's abilities it is difficult to speak, for he has left behind him nothing save a few private letters, from which no estimate can be formed. He was never distinguished as a parliamentary speaker, and the reports of what he said on the few occasions when he overcame his natural taciturnity, are so meagre, that it is impossible to form a judgment from them. His talents were certainly more solid than brilliant. He had no great grasp, or acuteness of intellect; but he was endowed with a clearness of apprehension,—a steady application,—and a methodical arrangement of affairs,—which made him one of the most valuable working statesmen the country has ever seen. The high value set upon his services by four successive sovereigns, and the admirable condition into which he brought the treasury, are the surest evidence of his abilities. "By the regularity and exactness of his payments," says Somerville, "he raised the public credit to a higher pitch than had ever been known before. Under his direction the economy of the exchequer was exceedingly improved, and he had so entirely gained the confidence of the monied men, that supply was never wanting for the execution of any purpose adapted for the service of government."[9]

[8] Burnet's continuation is curious. "He loved gaming the most of any man of business I ever knew, and gave in reason for it,—that it delivered him from the obligation to talk much."

[9] Somerville's History of the Reign of Queen Anne.

James, Earl of Derwentwater.

BORN A. D. 1691.—DIED A. D. 1715.

THIS nobleman was born on the 28th of June, 1691, and succeeded to the earldom in April, 1705. Although a catholic, and favourable to the chevalier, to whom he was distantly related, he appears to have taken but little share in the intrigues of the Jacobites during the reign of Queen Anne; nor is it satisfactorily shown that he had given any just cause of offence to the new government, although suspected of having secretly joined the parties of armed Jacobites who had traversed the country in August, 1715, when, in the following month, he received intelligence that a warrant had been issued by the secretary of state for his apprehension. Immediately proceeding to a justice-of-peace, he boldly demanded what charges existed against him, but the magistrate either could not or would not give him the information he desired. The earl then thought proper, imprudently perhaps, to evade capture by concealing himself in a cottage belonging to one of his tenants; and on Forster's appeal to the neighbouring Jacobites to appear in arms for James Frederick, he joined the disaffected at the appointed rendezvous near Greenrigg, with his brother, his servants, and a few of his tenantry, all well-armed and mounted.

The earl accompanied Forster to Preston, where he surrendered with the rest of the insurgents. On the 9th of December he entered London in custody, and after a brief examination before the privy-council, was committed to the Tower. On the 10th of January, 1715–16, he was impeached for high treason, and on the 16th of the same month thus addressed his peers, previously to pleading guilty:—"My lords, the terrors of your just sentence, which will at once deprive me of my life and estate, and complete the misfortunes of my wife and innocent children, are so heavy on my mind, that I am scarcely able to allege what may extenuate my offence, if any thing can do it. My guilt was rashly incurred, without any premeditation; for I beg to observe, that I was wholly unprovided with men, horses, or arms, which I could easily have provided had I formed any previous design. As my offence was sudden, so my submission was prompt; for when the king's general demanded hostages for insuring a cessation of arms, I voluntarily offered myself; and it was the repeated promises of mercy which I received that induced me afterwards to remain with the royal army. I humbly entreat your intercession with the king, and solemnly protest that my future conduct shall show me not unworthy of your generous compassion."

He received sentence of death on the 9th of February, and a warrant was soon afterwards issued for his execution. On the morning after it had been signed, his countess obtained an interview with the king in his bed-chamber, and pathetically entreated his majesty to spare her husband's life; and she subsequently went down to Westminster, accompanied by a great number of ladies, and personally implored both houses of parliament to intercede with the sovereign on his behalf. The public were strongly excited in favour of the condemned earl, and

his friends entertained a hope that he would be pardoned. But, notwithstanding several peers and commoners of distinction endeavoured to procure a remission of his sentence, it was carried into effect.

His execution took place on the 24th of February. After devotion, he advanced to the rails of the scaffold and read an address, in which he eulogised the pretender, and asked pardon of those whom he had scandalized by his plea of guilty, which, he stated, was a breach of loyalty to his lawful and rightful sovereign, King James the Third. He concluded by saying, that, had his life been spared, he should have considered himself bound in honour never again to take up arms against the reigning prince.

The earl appears to have been possessed of many good qualities. "He was formed by nature," says Patten, "to be universally beloved; for his benevolence was so unbounded, that he seemed only to live for others. He resided among his own people, spent his estate among them, and continually did them kindnesses. His hospitality was princely, and none in that country came up to it. He was very charitable to the poor, whether known to him or not, and whether papists or protestants. His fate was a misfortune to many who had no kindness for the cause in which he died."

Charles Ratcliffe, a brother of the earl of Derwentwater, was born in 1693, and evinced from his boyhood a most enthusiastic attachment to the exiled Stuarts. He acted with Forster throughout the whole of that inefficient leader's campaign, displaying a total disregard of personal danger, and a sincere devotion to the cause he had espoused, which threw a lustre over his rashness. Having surrendered with his confederates at Preston, he was arraigned for high treason in May, 1716, and was soon afterwards found guilty. He disdained to petition for mercy, but soon after the earl of Derwentwater had been executed, a free pardon was granted to Ratcliffe, which, however, he obstinately refused to accept. He was consequently detained in Newgate until the 11th of December, 1716, when he contrived to effect his escape. Patten, speaking of him about this period, says, "He is young and bold, but too forward: he has a great deal of courage, which wants a few more years and a better cause to improve it. There is room to hope he will never employ it in such an adventure again." Unfortunately, however, for himself, he continued to be an active partisan of the exiled prince.

In 1746 he received a naval commission from the king of France, and took the command of a vessel laden with arms for the use of the Jacobites in Scotland, which, however, never reached its destination, being captured at sea by an English cruizer. Ratcliffe was brought a prisoner to London, and arraigned on his previous conviction, which had never been reversed. He boldly denied the authority of the court, avowed himself to be a subject of the king of France, produced his commission, and declared that he was not Charles Ratcliffe, but the earl of Derwentwater. After some further quibbling on this and other points, his identity being satisfactorily proved, the attorney-general moved for the execution of his former sentence. The prisoner now attempted to set up his pardon in bar, but the judges being of opinion that such a plea could not, under the circumstances, be legally received, a writ was issued for his decapitation. His person and appearance on this occa-

sion are thus described in the British Chronologist:—"He was about five feet ten inches high, upwards of fifty, dressed in scarlet faced with black velvet, and gold buttons,—a gold-laced waistcoat,—bag-wig, and had a hat with a white feather." He wore precisely the same dress on the scaffold, where he conducted himself with great fortitude. He was beheaded on Tower-hill on the 8th of December, 1746.

Thomas, Marquess of Wharton.

BORN A. D. 1640.—DIED A. D. 1715.

THOMAS WHARTON, marquess of Wharton, eldest son of Philip, the fourth lord of that name, who distinguished himself on the parliamentarian side during the civil wars, was born about the year 1640. Having in early life made the tour of the continent, he returned home and threw himself into public life; and in the year 1678 was chosen one of the representatives for Buckinghamshire, his colleague being Richard Hampden, son of the celebrated patriot.

It does not appear that he took any active part in the debates on the bill of exclusion, although he opposed the court-party during the reigns of Charles II. and James II., and joined in the presentment against the duke of York, before the grand-jury of Middlesex, in 1680. During James's reign he lived retired at Winchendon, not very happy, it was said by the gossips of the day, in the society of his wife, the daughter of Sir Henry Lee of Dichley. This lady was a rigid presbyterian, and much devoted to literary society; she versified a good deal herself, and Waller has eulogised her "divine compositions;" but the match had, unfortunately perhaps for the peace of both, been arranged wholly by the fathers of the parties. An anonymous writer seems to hint that the marquess displayed not a little self-command in living the domestic life he did with her; but the weight of evidence strongly inclines against his lordship's alleged superiority as a domestic character. Be this as it may, Lord Wharton found ample employment in secretly supporting the measures of his party. He kept up a correspondence with the court of the Hague, and is supposed to have drawn the first draught of the invitation which was despatched to the prince of Orange from the peers and commoners of England; he is also said to have originated the address which was presented by Sir Edward Seymour, Sir William Portman, and other knights of the western shires, to his royal highness on his arrival at Torbay. On the accession of William and Mary, his lordship was made comptroller of the household, and member of the privy-council. In 1697 he was made chief-justice in Eyre on this side of the Trent, and lord-lieutenant of Oxfordshire. These appointments were highly agreeable to the majority of the nation. In a debate of considerable warmth in the house of peers, on an address respecting the partition-treaty, the marquess moved, in addition, "That whereas the French king had broken that treaty, they should advise his majesty to treat no more with him, nor rely upon his word without security;" and this, though much opposed by such of their lordships as were against engaging in a new war, was agreed to by a majority of the house. His lordship was also one of those who stood up for the association upon Sir

John Fenwick's plot, and distinguished himself by the eloquence and vigour with which he defended his party against the tories. That faction, who had always found a determined and powerful opponent in the marquess, made a miserable attempt to implicate his lordship in Monmouth's rebellion, but were utterly foiled in their purpose.

On the accession of Queen Anne, his lordship was removed from his employments. In 1702 he was one of the managers for the lords in the conference with the commons on the bill against occasional conformity, which he opposed on all occasions with great vigour and address. In the latter end of the year 1705, his lordship opened the debate in the house of lords on the question of providing a regency against the contingency of the queen's death. His speech and general management on this occasion were much admired. He said, that although he had not been present at the former debate upon the proposition to invite the Princess Sophia to England, yet he heartily concurred in the views then adopted, and that he had ever regarded the securing of a protestant succession to the crown as identical with the interests and happiness of the nation. The proposition for the regency contained these particulars: that the regents should be fully empowered to act in the name of the successor to the crown of Great Britain, until he might communicate with the government; and that, besides those whom the parliament should now appoint, the next successor should send over a nomination of regency, sealed up, and to be opened only on the contingency contemplated. This motion was supported by all the whig lords; and a bill founded upon it was ordered to be brought into the house.

In 1706 he was appointed one of the commissioners for negotiating the union with Scotland. The same year, he was created earl of Wharton in Westmoreland. In the latter end of 1708 he was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. This appointment was intended to conciliate and unite the protestant party in that country, and to check the increasing influence of the catholics. On this occasion his lordship was accompanied by Addison, then one of the under-secretaries of state, in the capacity of secretary, and a lasting friendship, equally honourable to both parties, was formed between them. His lordship held the lieutenancy of Ireland until the month of May, 1710, when he resigned office, and was succeeded by the duke of Ormond. Soon after this the earl was fiercely attacked by various political writers, and by none more bitterly than by Swift. The origin of the reverend penman's rancour is thus accounted for by Wharton. Lord Somers had recommended Swift, at his own very earnest request, to the Irish viceroy, but without success. Wharton disliked the man, and is reported to have replied to the application in his favour in nearly these terms:—"My lord, we must not give these fellows any countenance or show them any favour; we have not characters enough ourselves to trade upon." The reader will be amused by comparing the sketch which Swift has drawn of Lord Wharton in the character of Verres, with the compliments paid to his lordship by Addison in his dedication of the fifth volume of the 'Spectator' to him. It does appear that his lordship led a very gay, if not licentious life, during his viceroyalty. Conceiving that the best way of promoting the concord of Irishmen was to keep them amused and ever on the *qui vive*, he flung open the castle to all who were ambitious of sharing in its festivities, and made it his study to provide a perpetual round of amuse-

ments for the citizens of Dublin. In this plan of government he was well-supported by his second wife, who, unlike her predecessor, "was all courtliness and vivacity," though a scribbler of verses too. Swift has not hesitated to assail her ladyship also with his coarse and calumnious invective.

During the last four years of Queen Anne's reign the earl vigorously opposed almost all the measures emanating from the court, particularly the infamous schism bill. In 1714, soon after the arrival of George I. in England, his lordship was appointed lord-privy-seal: and in the beginning of next year was created marquess of Wharton and Malmesbury in England, and marquess of Catherlough in Ireland. But he did not long enjoy his new honours. He died in the month of April, 1715.

The marquess of Wharton was a man of very considerable ability. His political life, if not brilliant, had the merit of consistency, and he freely sacrificed both his time and money to the objects of the liberal party. There was about him a rugged force of character which enabled him to surmount many difficulties which to minds of less energy and endurance would have often proved insurmountable. His lordship was in high repute among the gentlemen of the turf. Macky says of him, "He is certainly one of the completest gentlemen in England, hath a very clear understanding and manly expression, with abundance of wit. He is brave in person, something of a libertine, of a middle stature, and fair complexion." He is reported to have been the author of the celebrated song, entitled, 'Lillibullero,' which had the effect, to use the expression of a popish pamphleteer, of "singing a prince out of three kingdoms." Dr Percy, in his 'Reliques of Poetry,' informs us that nothing could equal the extraordinary effect of this doggerel ballad, which made its appearance when the earl of Tyrconnel was sent a second time to Ireland in 1688. Burnet says, "A foolish ballad was made at that time, treating the papists, and chiefly the Irish, in a very ridiculous manner, which had a burden, said to be Irish words, 'Lero, lero, lilliburlero,' that made an impression on the (king's) army, that cannot be conceived by those who saw it not. The whole army, and at last the people, both in city and country, were singing it perpetually; and perhaps never had so slight a thing so great an effect." His lordship was also the reputed author of a letter purporting to have been written by Machiavelli to Zenobius Buendelmontius, in vindication of himself and his writings, which is printed at the end of the English translation of Machiavelli's works, edition 1680.

Charles, Earl of Halifax.

BORN A. D. 1661.—DIED A. D. 1715.

CHARLES, earl of Halifax, a native of Horton, in Northamptonshire, was born on the 16th of April, 1661, and educated at Westminster school and Trinity college, Cambridge. Some verses, which he wrote on the death of Charles II., having attracted the favourable notice of Lord Dorset, that nobleman invited him to London, where, in 1687, he wrote, in conjunction with Prior, 'The City Mouse and Country Mouse,' a parody on 'Dryden's Hind and Panther.' Hav-

ing, about the same time, married the dowager-countess of Manchester, he abandoned an idea which he had previously entertained, of entering into holy orders, and became, by purchase, a clerk of the council. Shortly afterwards he obtained a seat in the house of commons, where he soon rendered himself conspicuous as a partisan of the whigs.

At an early period of his senatorial career, while supporting the propriety of allowing counsel to persons accused of high treason, after a slight pause, the effect of embarrassment in his speech, he exclaimed, "Is it not reasonable to grant a prisoner, arraigned before a solemn tribunal, the privilege of a pleader, when the presence of this assembly can thus disconcert one of its own members?" He was appointed chancellor of the exchequer in 1694; first commissioner of the treasury in 1698, and created peer in 1700. During his administration, the bank of England was established, and that anticipation of the public revenues commenced, which produced the national debt. Whilst tory influence prevailed in the reign of Queen Anne, articles of impeachment were twice presented against him, but without effect, by the house of commons, to which he had given offence by supporting the proposition for a standing army in the time of peace. He was a zealous advocate for the union with Scotland, and greatly annoyed the queen by carrying a motion for summoning the electorate of Hanover to parliament, as duke of Cambridge.

On the accession of George I., he was raised to the earldom of Halifax; made a knight of the garter, and appointed first commissioner of the treasury, and auditor of the exchequer. He remained in office until his death, which took place on the 19th of May, 1715. His poems and speeches were published in the course of the same year; and Dr Johnson, who included the former in his edition of the British Poets, observes of him, that "it would now be esteemed no honour by a contributor to the monthly bundle of verses to be told, that, in strains either familiar or solemn, he sings like Montague." He aspired to the character of a Mecænas, and though not munificent, was eulogized by nearly all the poets of his day, except Pope and Swift, the latter of whom spoke of him with ridicule and contempt. By his political antagonists he was accused of having been servile and superficial; while, on the other hand, his admirers contend that he displayed great independence of mind, combined with solid judgment and ready apprehension. It is related that the earl of Dorset having, in allusion to the share he had had in the production of the still popular parody on 'The Hind and Panther,' introduced him, in the following terms, to William the Third:—"Sire, I have brought a mouse to wait on your majesty;" the king replied, "You do well to put me in the way of making a man of him," and immediately granted him a pension of £500 per annum!

Lord Somers.

BORN A. D. 1650.—DIED A. D. 1716.

JOHN SOMERS was born at Worcester, in the year 1650. His father was an attorney of some eminence, who, during the civil wars, espoused the parliamentary side, and received the command of a troop of horse

under Cromwell. His mother was Catherine Ceavers, a lady of a Shropshire family. Of his early education, Dr Birch has preserved the following memorandum:—"The account of his behaviour at school I had many years ago from a school-fellow. I think Walsall in Staffordshire was the place where they learned their grammar together. I remember well his account of Johnny Somers being a weakly boy, wearing a black cap, and never so much as looking out when they were at play." In 1675, Somers entered as a commoner of Trinity college, Oxford; and, on the 5th of May, 1676, was called to the bar, though he continued to reside at the university for a considerable period after this, and took the degree of B A. in 1681. It is supposed that his early acquaintance with Sir Francis Winnington and the earl of Shrewsbury mainly contributed to determine his attention to the law.

His first legal brochure was the report of an election case, entitled 'The memorable Case of Denzil Onslow, Esq., tried at the assizes in Surrey, July the 20th, 1681, touching his election at Haslemere in Surrey, wherein is much good matter, and direction touching the due ordering of elections for parliament.' His next work, entitled 'A Brief History of the Succession, collected out of the Records and the most authentic historians,' was designed to establish the authority of parliament to limit or qualify the succession to the crown, in opposition to the doctrines put forth by the kingly prerogative and *jus divinum* party of the day.[1]

The defeat of the exclusion bill having emboldened the king's party to try stronger measures, the lord-chief-justice North was employed to frame a royal declaration of the causes which had led to the dissolution of the two last parliaments. This proceeding was met by the friends of civil liberty, by the publication of a tract, entitled, 'A Just and Modest Vindication of the two last Parliaments,' which Burnet says was sketched by Sidney, recast by Somers, and finally corrected by Sir William Jones. It is an able and vigorous document, full of sound constitutional principle, and luminous in its argument. The same year called forth another well-timed disquisition on the political rights of his countrymen from Mr Somers's pen. It was entitled 'The Security of Englishmen's Lives; or the Trust, Power, and Duty of the Grand Juries of England explained according to the Fundamentals of the English Government.' This tract was written in defence of the grand jury who had ignored a bill for high treason against Shaftesbury, and by this act drawn upon themselves the indignation of the court.

Immediately after leaving the university, Mr Somers began to practise at the bar, and, in 1683, we find him employed as one of the counsel in the celebrated case of Pilkington and Shute.[2] But the pressure of an extensive and accumulating professional practice did not wholly withdraw him from the lighter pursuits of general literature. In 1681 he had published a poetical translation of the epistles of Dido to Æneas, and of Ariadne to Theseus from Ovid; and soon after, he is supposed to have written the poem, entitled 'Dryden's Satire to his Muse,' a work of very considerable power and much greater promise than his former poetical attempt. We find him, about this time, patronising the

[1] Somers' Tracts, vol. i p. 374 [2] Howell's State Trials, vol. ix. p. 187.

first folio edition of Milton, and at a later period he seems to have marked and fostered the rising genius of Pope.

In 1688 Somers appeared as one of the counsel for the seven bishops. The issue of that great trial is well-known; but it is not perhaps so generally understood, that, for a great part of the deep constitutional learning displayed on this occasion by the senior counsel, these gentlemen stood indebted to their young colleague in the defence, whose comparative youth had been objected to by the bishops themselves, on finding his name in the list of their legal advisers.

Upon the flight of James II., and the arrival of Prince William, Mr Somers was returned to the convention parliament by his native city of Worcester, and from the first, acted a conspicuous part in the debates of the house, particularly in the conference with the lords, on the wording of the commons' vote that James had abdicated, a term for which their lordships proposed to substitute the word deserted. On the vote "that the prince and princess of Orange should be declared king and queen," Mr Somers was named a member of the committee appointed to report generally on such things as were absolutely necessary to be considered for the better securing our religion, liberty, and laws. The result of these deliberations was afterwards incorporated with the 'Declaration of Rights;' and on the final revisal of that instrument Mr Somers sat as chairman of the committee. The appointment of solicitor-general, and the honour of knighthood, was the reward bestowed on Mr Somers for these important services.

In 1692 Sir John Somers was raised to the post of attorney-general, and, in 1693, he was appointed lord-keeper of the great seal, and, in 1697, was raised to the peerage by the style and title of Baron Somers of Eversham, and in the same year he was appointed lord-high-chancellor, with a grant of the manors of Ryegate and Horeleigh in Surrey, together with an annuity of £2,100 out of the fee-farm rents of the crown. The part which Somers had now to act was one of a very delicate and difficult nature. The tories were gradually gaining the ascendancy over the king's mind, while the whig party were kept together solely by the weight of the chancellor's name. Of the view which Somers himself took of his position, so early as the close of the year 1698, we have distinct evidence in the following extract from a letter written by him at that time:—"There is nothing to support the whigs," says he, "but the difficulty of his (the king's) piecing with the other party, and the almost impossibility of finding a set of tories who will write; so that, in the end, I conclude it will be a pieced business which will fall asunder immediately." On the 10th of April, 1700, an address was moved in the house of commons, praying that "John, Lord Somers, lord-chancellor of England, should be removed for ever from his majesty's presence and counsels." The motion was not carried, but the next day parliament was prorogued, and intimation made to Lord Somers that the king desired his lordship should part with the seals, and that in such a manner as might make it appear that the act was voluntary on his part. To this proposal, his lordship replied that, as the voluntary surrender of the seals might be taken advantage of by his enemies to his hurt and prejudice, he could not consent to such a mode of resigning office; but that he would instantly resign on his majesty's express warrant, demanding the seals. Soon afterwards, the

warrant being brought by Lord Jersey, Somers delivered the seals to that nobleman.[3] It is consolatory to know that William lived to express sincere repentance for the ungrateful manner in which he had thus treated one of his best and ablest servants.

The chancellor's fall was followed up by his impeachment, together with the earls of Portland and Oxford, for high crimes and misdemeanors. On the 19th of May, 1701, the commons exhibited articles of impeachment against Lord Somers, embracing three distinct heads; viz. his conduct with regard to the partition-treaties,—his passing of certain grants under the great seal to himself and others,—and the affair of Captain Kidd. His lordship had already anticipated, in some measure, these charges, while the commons were deliberating upon them by soliciting and obtaining permission to be heard at the bar in his own defence. On this occasion Burnet informs us his lordship "spoke so fully and clearly, that, upon his withdrawing, it was believed, if the question had been quickly put, the whole matter had been soon at an end, and that the prosecution would have been let fall. But his enemies drew out the debate to such a length, that the impression which his speech had made, was much worn out; and the house sitting till it was past midnight, they at last carried it by a majority of seven or eight to impeach him."

With respect to the first head of the charges exhibited against Lord Somers, that of his conduct in the partition-treaties, his lordship clearly intimated, that so far from his having afforded his royal master any encouragement in the negotiation with France, he had thrown out considerable doubts as to its policy. On the second charge, he freely acknowledged that the king had been pleased to grant him certain manors and rents for the better support of his dignity as a peer, but he denied that to obtain such grants either in his own person or in that of another, he had ever used solicitation. As to Captain Kidd's affair, he contended justly that he could not be held in any degree accountable for the bad faith of a man whom he had simply invested with a privateering commission to clear the American seas of pirates, but who ultimately became a pirate himself. The 17th of June was fixed for the trial; but on that day the commons, not appearing in support of their impeachment, Lord Somers was acquitted. It was soon after this impeachment that Swift commenced his pamphleteering career in London, attaching himself in the first instance to the whigs. The following sketch which Swift drew of Lord Somers at this juncture, under the character of Aristides, in his 'Discourse of the contests and dissensions between the nobles and commons in Athens and Rome,' may be compared with another portrait of the same individual by the same hand, which the reader will find in the 'History of the last years of the Queen.' The contrast is sufficiently striking; but it is the hireling writer himself who suffers by it. "Their next great man," says Swift, paying his court to the whigs, "was Aristides. Besides the mighty services he had done his country in the wars, he was a person of the strictest justice, and best acquainted with the laws as well as forms of their government, so that he was in a manner chancellor of Athens. This man, upon a slight and false accusation of favouring

[3] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 242, fol. ed.

arbitrary power, was banished by ostracism, which, rendered into modern English, would signify that they voted he should be removed from their presence and council for ever. But they had the wit to recall him, and to that action owed the preservation of their state by his future services."

The death of William occurred just in time to prevent the formation of a new whig ministry, principally under the direction of Somers and Sunderland. After the accession of Queen Anne, Lord Somers appears to have nearly altogether withdrawn himself from public life, and to have spent much of his time, at his seat near Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, in the study of history, antiquities, and polite literature. From 1698 to 1703, he sat as president of the Royal society; but he still continued his attendance in the house of peers, where he opposed the bill to prevent occasional nonconformity; and, in 1706, introduced the important statute, 4° Anne, c. 16, entitled, 'Act for the amendment of the law, and the better advancement of justice.' The project of the union with Scotland again awoke the energies of the ex-minister. In the debates which took place on this subject his lordship bore a conspicuous part, and Burnet declares that he had a chief hand in the arrangement of this important and delicate affair.[4] In the year 1708, our veteran politician came again into place and power, with the whig party, in the character of president of the council; but another change of administration was effected in 1710, when Lord Somers finally bade farewell to public life. Towards the latter end of the queen's reign he had indeed grown very infirm, and his faculties had suffered considerably from a paralytic affection. With a few intervening gleams of recovery, he gradually sunk into a state of mental and bodily imbecility, from which, on the 26th of April, 1716, he was released by death.

Lord Somers was never married. A disappointment in a first attachment is said to have caused him to renounce ever after the idea of marriage; and, if his biographer, Cooksey, may be credited,—to have entertained very loose ideas on the subject of female society. We cannot help thinking, both from the evidence of the general tenor of his lordship's life, as well as from the negative testimony of his bitterest political opponents, that such a charge has been unduly advanced. Addison declares that "his life was in every part of it set off with that graceful modesty and reserve which made his virtues more beautiful, the more they were cast in such agreeable shades. His religion," he adds, "was sincere, not ostentatious; and such as inspired him with an universal benevolence towards all his fellow-subjects, not with bitterness against any part of them."[5] Horace Walpole beautifully says of Lord Somers, "He was one of those divine men, who, like a chapel in a palace, remains unprofaned, while all the rest is tyranny, corruption, and folly. All the traditional accounts of him, the historians of the last age, and its best authors, represent him as the most incorrupt lawyer, and the honestest statesman, as a master orator, a genius of the finest taste, and a patriot of the noblest and most extensive views: as a man who dispensed blessings by his life, and planned them for his posterity." "He was," says Burnet, "very learned in his own profession,

[4] Own Times, vol. ii. p. 468.
[5] Freeholder of 4th May, 1716.

with a great deal more learning in other professions, in divinity, philosophy, and history. He had a great capacity for business, with an extraordinary temper; for he was fair and gentle, perhaps to a fault, considering his post. So that he had all the patience and softness, as well as the justice and equity, becoming a great magistrate."

Lord Somers was an industrious collector of tracts and manuscripts. Of the latter, his collection filled upwards of sixty volumes in folio, but was unfortunately destroyed by fire in Lincoln's-inn in 1752. Some remains which the fire had spared were published by the earl of Hardwicke in 1778, under the title of 'State Papers from 1501 to 1726.' 'The Somers' Tracts' are a number of scarce pieces which were published by Cogan, in four sets of four quarto volumes each, from the pamphlets collected by Lord Somers. They were republished a few years since under the superintendance of Sir Walter Scott.

Herbert, Earl of Torrington.

DIED A. D. 1716

This brave officer was the son of Sir Edward Herbert, attorney-general to King Charles I. Having attached himself to the naval service, he was appointed lieutenant in the Defiance early in the year 1666, and experiencing a very rapid promotion, was advanced on the 8th of November following to the command of the Pembroke frigate of thirty-two guns. After much highly honourable service, and a variety of encounters with the enemy, in which he constantly displayed the utmost gallantry, he was on the 5th of November, 1677, appointed captain of the Prince Rupert, and having been ordered to the Mediterranean, was, not long afterwards, honoured with a special commission, constituting him second in command of the force employed on that station under the orders of Sir John Narborough. In April, 1678, he had a desperate encounter with one of the largest corsairs belonging to the Algerines. Her commander was esteemed the ablest and bravest in their navy, and defended himself with the utmost obstinacy to the last extremity. On board the Rupert nearly thirty officers and seamen were killed, and forty wounded, among whom was Captain Herbert himself. On board the corsair two hundred men were killed or disabled ere the piratical colours were struck.

In the month of May, in the ensuing year, on the return of Sir John Narborough to England, the chief command was left with Mr Herbert, who on that occasion was officially called in the London Gazette, Vice-admiral Herbert. The command, however, might be rather said to have devolved, than to have been conferred upon him, and a period of fifteen months elapsed ere he received a special commission appointing him regularly to exercise the functions of naval commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. During this interval he rendered very considerable service to the city of Tangier, then formidably pressed by the Moors. Admiral Herbert, arriving at a very critical period of the attack, landed a battalion of picked men from the fleet, of which he himself assumed the command as colonel, and obtained no small addition to his honour by his eminent services as a military officer. He afterwards very spiritedly

renewed hostilities against the Algerines—who appeared not to have been sufficiently chastized by the punishment they had already received—and compelled them to sue for peace. No farther necessity existing for the maintenance of so formidable a force in so distant a quarter, Admiral Herbert returned to England, and was not long afterwards created rear-admiral of England. The stream of honour still continued to flow towards him, on the accession of James II. He was appointed master of the robes; and additional honours might, not improbably, have been heaped on him, had not the steadiness of his principles, and the inflexibility of his political integrity, exposed him to the disapprobation of the court. Having firmly opposed the repeal of the test-act, a measure which lay nearest the heart of James, that infatuated prince caused him to feel the whole weight of his indignation. Lord Thomas Howard, a strenuous supporter of the wishes of the court, was appointed to succeed him as master of the robes, and he was removed from the honorary station of rear-admiral of England, in order to make room for Sir Roger Strickland.

Herbert—among the first of those who considered the interference of a protestant power necessary, ere the restoration of those rights which James had so violently invaded could be obtained—now repaired to Holland. The States-general, sensible of his worth and value, hesitated not a moment in conferring on him the chief command of their fleet, with the title of lieutenant-general-admiral. Through his exertions and his advice it was that repeated difficulties were overcome, and absurd propositions rejected; and to him all persons attribute the southerly course which the fleet of the states, with William and his army on board, at last held, instead of steering to the northward, which, most probably, would have ended in their destruction.

William appeared ready to do all possible justice to the exertions and services of Mr Herbert. He continued him in the command of the fleet, and, on the 8th of March, 1688–9, nominated him first commissioner for executing the office of lord-high-admiral. In the ensuing month, he was sent admiral of a squadron, which, though it consisted of no more than twelve ships of the line, was ordered to Ireland to oppose that of France under Mons. Chateau Renaud, which amounted to forty-four sail, no less than twenty-eight of which were of the line. Unappalled by this superiority of force, Mr Herbert shrunk not from the trust, and he fulfilled every object of it with the same intrepidity which induced him to accept it. On the king's arrival at Portsmouth, pecuniary rewards were bestowed on the seamen, and honours on the officers. Admiral Herbert, amidst this general display of royal munificence, was, on the 29th of May, 1689, created a peer of England, by the titles of Baron Herbert of Torbay and Earl of Torrington. An addition being made to the force which the noble admiral had before commanded, by the junction of a squadron under the orders of Admiral Russell, and several Dutch ships which had reached England in the interim, his lordship proceeded to sea early in the month of July, but the enemy, having no further enterprise in view of sufficient importance to render the hazard of a contest necessary, were content to confine themselves within their own ports, and the remainder of the year consequently passed on without encounter.

In the month of January of the ensuing year, the first dawnings of

that ill-fortune and bad treatment he was soon afterwards destined to experience, made their appearance. His past services, his integrity, his constant zeal in the support of every measure for the public good, were forgotten. Some very absurd and ill-founded clamours were raised in the house of commons relative to the quality of the provisions with which several of the ships had been supplied. These acquired in a short time such head, that the earl of Torrington, whose character certainly rendered him as little liable as any man in the kingdom to the suspicion of having connived at any imposition or impropriety practised by contractors or other persons connected with the navy, felt it an imperative duty indignantly to withdraw himself from the abuse of a faction whose contumely he despised. He accordingly resigned his office of first commissioner for executing the functions of lord-high-admiral, but retained that of commander-in-chief of the fleet.

The most indefatigable exertions had been constantly made by France, ever since the commencement of the war, and particularly during the preceding winter, for the augmentation of her marine; but the same degree of activity by no means appeared to prevail in the arsenals of England; so that when the French fleet made its appearance early in the month of June, augmented to the almost incredible extent of seventy-five sail of the line, attended by a proportionable number of frigates and smaller vessels, the combined fleet of England and Holland exceeded not fifty-six sail. Great as the disparity was, his lordship, considering that it would tend more to the advantage of his country for him to put to sea, and at least watch the motions of the enemy, in the hope that fortune might afford him some partial opportunity of attacking them to advantage, quitted his anchorage almost on the instant he heard of the arrival of the hostile fleet; but the magnitude of the trust confided to him caused him to act with extreme caution; and it is far from improbable, that, had he been permitted to follow the dictates of his own opinion, the fleet of Louis XIV., feeling itself incapable of effecting any advantageous service, would have retired, after having enjoyed the short and empty parade of momentarily alarming the English nation. The ill fortune of Britain decreed it should be otherwise. Certain fallacious, though apparently plausible reasons for risking an action, even against such fearful odds, induced her majesty to send peremptory orders to engage the enemy without further delay. "The noble admiral instantly took every measure in his power to render the event of the expected contest, if not successful, at least as little disastrous as possible. He immediately convened all the flag and principal officers of the fleet, and communicated to them his orders. It was for them, as well as for himself, to obey, and not to remonstrate. On the 30th of June the signal for battle was displayed at the dawn of day, and, as soon as the line was formed, which was not till near eight o'clock, was followed by a second for close action. The line formed by the English fleet was nearly straight, the van and rear extending almost as far as that of their opponents; but there was some distance between the red, or centre squadron, commanded by the earl in person, and the Dutch, who being in the van, contrary to their usual caution, pressed forward rather too rashly to engage the van of the French fleet. There was also a second interval between the rear of the red squadron and the van of the blue, which cautiously and very prudently avoided closing in with the centre,

through the fear of having their own rear completely destroyed. In few words, the whole space between the rear of the Dutch division and the van of the blue squadron was filled up in the best manner circumstances would admit, by the earl of Torrington, and the red separated into three subdivisions, which, by necessarily narrowing the different openings in the line, rendered it less easy for the enemy to break through, or throw it into any material confusion. Opposed to the earl lay the French centre, and, owing to the very superior number of ships which it contained, crowded in the extreme; in so great a degree, indeed, were the ships of the enemy huddled together, that they were compelled, in order to avoid falling on board each other, to form themselves into a kind of semicircle, of such depth, as caused the centre of the French fleet to be considerably distant from that of Earl Torrington and the red squadron. To have approached the enemy under these circumstances, would have betrayed the most unpardonable rashness in the earl's conduct, and have exposed the whole of his fleet to the dreadful disaster of the most unqualified defeat; instead of which, by adopting the system of action which he displayed through the whole unequal encounter, he completely kept at bay, with eighteen or twenty ships, double that number, of which the French centre was composed. But the very measure which so deservedly entitled him to public gratitude and applause, became instantly the parent of invective, ingratitude, and persecution. It was urged by his enemies, and implicitly believed by the ignorant, that he had traitorously and ignominously hung back from the contest, and had thereby sacrificed the first interests of his country. The trivial damage sustained by the red squadron, in consequence of its peculiar situation during the action, afforded to the clamorous a sufficient proof of the delinquency and cowardice of the earl. To have saved the greater part of his fleet, was madly considered inglorious; and the Dutch, who, so far it must in justice be allowed them, fought with consummate, though ill-timed gallantry, took every possible means to augment the outcry, as some species of palliative to their own loss."

The whole of the loss sustained by the combined fleet on this momentous occasion did not exceed seven ships of the line, six of which belonged to the Dutch, and the seventh, the Ann of seventy guns, to the English. It must be observed, at the same time, that none of these vessels actually fell into the hands of the enemy, but were destroyed in action, or afterwards, in consequence of their disabled state; and the greater part of their crews were happily preserved. When it is considered, in addition to the comparatively trivial loss, that the fleet of the enemy, in consequence of the damages it sustained in the action, was totally incapacitated from undertaking any further offensive operation, though their opponents had been compelled to retire, perhaps it is not unfair to say, that the encounter off Beachy-head, though unattended with the brilliant honours of victory, was productive of many of the most solid advantages which could be expected to have resulted from it.

Such, however, was the virulence of his enemies, that the earl's services were from that time lost to his country. He lived ever afterwards retired from public life, and died in a very advanced age, on the 13th day of April, 1716.

William Penn.

BORN A. D. 1644.—DILD A. D. 1718

WILLIAM PENN was born in London, in the parish of St Catharine, on Tower-hill, on the 14th day of October, 1644. He sprang from an old and honourable family, which had resided for four or five centuries at Penn in Buckinghamshire. His father was the well-known Admiral Sir William Penn, who distinguished himself during the time of the commonwealth, and still more, subsequent to the restoration, as an able and skilful naval commander, and received the honour of knighthood after the famous sea-fight with the Dutch in 1665.

William Penn was sent by his father to the free grammar school at Chigwell in Essex, which was but a short distance from Wanstead, where the admiral resided. When about eleven years of age he is said to have been surprised one evening, when twilight had gathered over him, as he sat alone in his chamber to study, by a certain external glory, and, as it were, preternatural, internal lifting up of the soul, which suddenly fell on him. This was in all probability the result of a high-wrought imagination, but it seriously impressed his mind with the great concerns of religion, and induced a belief that he was especially called by God to a holy life. At twelve he was sent to a school in London, and at fifteen he was entered a gentleman-commoner at Christ-church, Oxford. Here he remained for some time, prosecuting his studies with zeal, and forming friendships with several men of parts and distinction, among whom were Robert Spencer, afterwards earl of Sunderland, and John Locke. At this time one Thomas Loe, a layman, who had belonged to the university of Oxford, but had afterwards become a quaker, was in the habit of preaching to the students, and with such effect, that several of them began to withdraw themselves from the established worship, and to hold meetings of their own. Penn was one of the seceders, and his bold, decisive temper, made him their leader. An unlucky event brought them into trouble. By an order from the king the wearing of the surplice was resumed, to the great delight of many, but to the chagrin of Penn and his associates, who beheld in it a flagrant violation of the simplicity and purity of the christian religion. Their zeal was at length roused to such a pitch, that, by concert, they fell on every one who ventured to assume this rag of popery, and tore it over their heads. For this outrage Penn and some others were expelled.

Returning home, he found scanty comfort. His father, who had conceived high hopes of his son's rise in life, was mortified by his recent conduct, and by the strictness and asceticism of his opinions. After a vain trial of argument, he proceeded to those

> "Apostolic blows and knocks
> Which prove a doctrine orthodox;"

and finding even these fail, he turned his son out of doors. Thus to part with an only son, was more than human nature, at least more than the admiral's nature could long endure, and, after a brief struggle,

young Penn was readmitted to his father's affection. It was now thought that it would be much easier to entice, than to drive away, his religious feelings, and, for that purpose, he was sent in 1662 to France. Here, after visiting the capital, he resorted to Saumur, that he might enjoy the instructions of the erudite Moses Amyrault, under whom he read the fathers, and studied the majority of the theological questions then most disputed. He returned to England, by way of Italy, and, in 1665, with more polish and greater learning, but unchanged sentiments on the all-important concerns of religion, he went down to his former residence in the country. His father, having failed in this his first design, next tried the expedient of sending him into Ireland to manage some estates belonging to the admiral in that country. But it seemed as if some strong destiny were urging him into a fixed and determined career, for, as in France he had fallen in with Amyrault, so here he met with his spiritual father, Thomas Loe, who was still labouring in his vocation as a preacher. From this man he heard a sermon on that striking declaration, "There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith which is overcome by the world." So strong was the impression produced on him by this discourse, that he resolved henceforward to cast in his lot openly with the Society of Friends, or, as they had already begun to be termed, from a silly joke of a country magistrate, quakers. That this step was the result of strong convictions, and the act of a mind free from fear, self-interest, baseness, and all the more degrading passions, few will doubt, who, remembering on the one hand that Penn was the only son of a father high in reputation, and possessing extraordinary powers of advancing his son's interests; and, on the other, that the quakers are of all sects the most despised and persecuted. Whether it was the act of a wise and well-balanced mind, we leave to be inferred from some remarks we shall have to offer, ere we conclude, on the tenets of the early quakers.

He had not long joined his new friends, before he was thrown into prison on account of his belief. On his release, he was summoned home by his father, who had received tidings of the still more decided shape his puritanism had now taken, and who endeavoured to prevail on him to abandon his principles. All was useless; so rigid indeed were his notions, that although, after a long struggle, the only concession demanded from him was, that he would sit without his hat when in the presence of his father, of the king, or of the duke of York, he refused obedience, and was consequently once more set adrift on the world. This second disinheritance abated not his heart or hope. In 1668 he came out as a preacher in the Society of Friends, and in the same year stood forth in print as the champion of the peculiar doctrines he had espoused. It is not our intention to follow him through the varied scenes of the life on which he had now entered. Our object, in the limited space which is all we can fairly claim, must be to give as faithful and lively a picture of the man as is possible, without narrating all the turns and changes of his lot. We find him steadily pressing onwards in the high career on which he had entered, though scorn, oppression, bonds, and even death itself beset his path. When free, he proclaimed the new light which, as he thought, had dawned on the world, and when imprisoned, his pen was equally busy in its propagation. It is pleasing to know that his father gradually became reconciled to him, and though

he never embraced his son's views, at length tolerated them. In 1670 he was imprisoned for preaching in Gracechurch-street, and was brought to trial before the lord-mayor and recorder. The narrative of this trial is one of intense interest. We pity any one who can read it without feeling his blood boil with indignation at the brutality of the court to this innocent and high-minded man. Penn displayed a knowledge of the rights of an Englishman—a steadiness in asserting them, and a noble calmness, which united, amount to something very like sublimity. The jury, though shamefully threatened by the court, refused for some time to bring in any other verdict than the unmeaning one, "Guilty of speaking in Gracechurch-street." Being repeatedly sent back to reconsider their verdict, at last, after two days and two nights spent without refreshment, undaunted by the frowns of a powerful court, they unanimously brought in a verdict of "Not guilty." It will scarcely be believed, that, even after this acquittal, Penn was detained in prison for certain pretended fines, and was only released through his father's influence, privately exerted. In the same year his father died, completely reconciled to his son, whom he had always loved, and now respected for his sincerity and decision. By this event Penn became master of an ample fortune, but it did not in the least diminish his zeal. In 1672, having returned from a tour through Holland and Germany, undertaken to proclaim the doctrines of his sect, he married, and settled at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire. In this and the several succeeding years his time was spent chiefly in preaching and in writing. His writings are many of them controversial, and would hardly repay perusal, but some of them, written to assert the right of man to worship his Creator as conscience dictates, breathe noble sentiments, and will remain instances of the degree by which some minds outrun their age. In 1676, Penn, in consequence of the misfortunes of a friend, became the manager of a large tract of land in the new world, and to which he gave the name of West New Jersey. In the difficult employment thus devolved on him, he showed his accustomed ability. In 1677 he removed from Rickmansworth to Worminghurst in Sussex, and in the same year he undertook a missionary tour through Holland and Germany, where, as the fruits of his former labours, watered by subsequent travellers, a body of quakers had grown up. In this journey he met with much that was encouraging. To use his own phrase, "the gospel was preached, the dead were raised, and the living comforted." He was received with great respect by several royal and noble persons, and wherever he proclaimed his errand was heard with attention.

Passing over some events of minor importance, we come, in 1680, to the commencement of the undertaking which has immortalized Penn's character. His attention had already been drawn, by his management of West New Jersey, to the hope of escape which the new world presented from the misery and oppression of the old. For a great number of years a debt had been due to his father from the court, no part of which had ever been repaid. Penn offered, in lieu of this debt, to accept a vast tract of land, bounded on the east by the Delaware river, on the south by Maryland, and extending northwards as far as was plantable. After some difficulty, which arose almost entirely from dislike to Penn's religious opinions, the grant of these lands was made, and by a charter, dated March 4th, 1681, he was constituted full and

absolute proprietor of the whole tract for which he had solicited. By the king's especial command, the territory was called Pennsylvania, in honour of the owner. There are few more pleasing or interesting pages in the history of mankind than those which detail Penn's management of the important tract committed to him. Having made all his arrangements, he promulgated a frame of government for the new province, and it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to point out a wiser, more enlightened, or more statesmanlike system of social policy. The preface to it is full of sound wisdom. "I know," he says, "what is said by the several admirers of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, which are the rule of one, of a few, and of many, and are the three common ideas of government when men discourse on that subject. But I choose to solve the controversy with this small distinction, and it belongs to all three; any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion." His summary of the objects he had in view while laying down the frame of a government, is admirable. "We have, with reverence to God and good conscience to men, to the best of our skill, contrived and composed the frame and laws of this government, to the great end of government; to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery."

The frame of government consisted of twenty-four articles, by which the power was lodged in the governor and freemen of the province. These were to form two bodies,—a provincial council consisting of seventy-two members, elected by the freemen; a third of these went out every year. To this assembly was intrusted the entire management of the province, and with them all bills originated. The second body, named the general assembly, was to consist, for the first year, of all the freemen, and subsequently of two hundred annually elected. The only power possessed by this lower house was that of rejecting bills sent to them by the upper. The governor was perpetual president of the provincial council, but without any other distinction than that of possessing a treble vote. All elections were by ballot.

Penn now determined to embark on a visit to his possessions, but, before doing so, he obtained from the duke of York a complete renunciation of all claims on Pennsylvania, and from the crown, a farther grant of a tract which he named the Territories, lying contiguous to his own province. In October, 1682, he landed at Newcastle, and was received with every mark of respect by the old possessors of the soil. His first act was to summon the general assembly, by which an act of union, annexing the Territories to the Province,—an act of settlement relative to the form of the constitution,—a bill of naturalization, and a number of laws, in addition to those already enacted by the governor, were passed. Among these laws were some admirable regulations. Perfect liberty of conscience was enacted for all who acknowledged a Governor of the universe, and an obligation to observe peace and justice in society,—all who professed faith in Jesus Christ, who were of unstained character, and above one and twenty, were to be electors,—

the pleadings and processes in courts of law were to be as short and cheap as possible,—there were only two capital crimes, treason and murder,—and "all prisons were to be considered as workshops, where the offenders might be industriously, soberly, and morally employed." The assembly having broken up, he proceeded to a solemn treaty with the Indians, at which he confirmed the promises of peace and amity he had before made to them, and received their pledges of friendship in return. All the intercourse between them was to be conducted on principles of the strictest justice, and it is gratifying to find that they lived for many years afterwards in perfect concord. "This," says Voltaire, "was the only treaty between those people and the Christians that was not ratified by an oath, and that was never broken." His next employment was to found a city, to which he gave the name of Philadelphia, in token of the spirit of peace on earth and good will to all men, which animated him in his undertaking. All things went on prosperously. Many of his own sect, wearied out by persecution, sought a shelter in these distant wilds, which, if they did not exhibit the plenty and comforts of their native land, were still more ignorant of the vice and the bitter oppression which had covered that land with mourning. In the following year, the council and assembly again met, and passed a number of salutary regulations. Trial by jury was also established, and thus were the foundations laid of a free and enlightened empire.

Penn now turned his thoughts homewards. The accounts brought of the persecution for religious belief were daily more distressing, and he hoped by his influence with the court to procure some mitigation. Having provided for the government of the country in his absence, he set sail, and landed in England early in October, 1681. Soon after his arrival Charles died, and the duke of York, with whom Penn had always maintained considerable intimacy, ascended the throne. If there be any part of Penn's life on which we are inclined to look with feelings of regret, it is that on which we now enter. We do not mean to deny his right of profiting by the favourable disposition of James towards him, but a wise man will always be careful not to give to the world the slightest pretext for supposing that he sanctions the conduct of the flagitious. That Penn was thus careful, few will affirm. He was one of the most constant attendants at the court,—was repeatedly consulted by the king, and indeed was so noted for possessing the royal favour, that, to use the words of one of his early biographers, "his house and gates were daily thronged by a numerous train of clients and suppliants—desiring him to present their addresses to his majesty." In 1686 he had the indiscretion to undertake a commission from the king to the prince of Orange,—a step which gave some confirmation to the report already widely circulated, that he was a disguised Jesuit. We need hardly say that the charge was to the last degree absurd. Penn's sole object was the establishment of religious liberty. We admit he was wofully mistaken when he supposed the king to be a friend to freedom of conscience, for there never sat on the English throne a more narrow-minded bigot. But if Penn erred, he was not alone in his error. The united body of quakers presented an address to his majesty, thanking him for his "princely speech in council, and Christian declaration for liberty of conscience, in which he doth not only express his aversion to all force upon conscience, and grant all his dissenting subjects an

ample liberty to worship God in the way they are persuaded is most agreeable to his will, but gives them his kingly word, the same shall continue during his reign." All this would have been very well if the king's declaration had only been constitutional; but the whole body in their rejoicings over the escape they had made from a relentless persecution, forgot the illegitimate manner of their deliverance. Penn immediately took advantage of their recovered liberty to make a preaching tour through several parts of the country. Immense crowds flocked to hear him, and on one or two occasions the king did him the honour of attending his ministry. Nor was his pen idle. He found time to defend himself in a temperate and well-written letter from the charge of Jesuitism. "If," says he, "an universal charity,—if the asserting an impartial liberty of conscience,—if doing to others as we would be done by,—and an open avowing and steady practising of these things in all times, and to all parties, will justly lay a man under the reflection of being a Jesuit, I must not only submit to the character, but embrace it too. * * * * For these are corner-stones and principles with me, and I am scandalised at all buildings which have them not for their foundations."

In a very short time after the Revolution, Penn was made to feel the effects of the popular indignation which had long been brooding over him. He was summoned before the lords of the council, and, after a brief examination, compelled to give security for his future appearance. Accordingly, in the next term, he made his appearance, but, there being none to criminate him, he was forthwith discharged. In 1689 he had the inexpressible satisfaction of witnessing the passing of the toleration act. To him this measure must have been peculiarly grateful, as the principles which it avowed were part, at least, of those grand doctrines of perfect religious freedom which his life had been spent in advocating. He would now have returned to America, but, unfortunately for himself, he felt a desire to witness the working of this great measure, and, having staid a sufficient length of time to see its beneficial effects rapidly developing themselves, was on the point of embarkation when he was seized, on a charge of correspondence with the exiled king. Being summoned before the lords in council, he appealed from them to the king himself, before whom he made a manly and open defence. The result was an honourable acquittal. Again did he commence preparations for his voyage, and again were they defeated. An accusation was brought against him by a wretched fellow named Fuller, and Penn judged it neither prudent nor honourable to leave the country. Determined to abide the charge, but willing to avoid the public clamour, he resolved on retirement from active life for a time; but this seemed only to swell the current which ran so strongly against him. Some even of his own sect became his censurers. He was cheered, in the midst of this general enmity, by the friendly remembrances of the immortal John Locke, who offered to procure for him a pardon. This offer Penn declined, as Locke had done on a similar occasion, and for a similar reason, that he had never been guilty of the crime alleged against him. In the few succeeding years he continued in retirement; but he had to go through a great fight of afflictions. It was hard enough to endure the scorn and hatred of a whole nation, excited by a groundless charge,—the confinement of his active

temper to a sluggish indolence,—the detention from his growing province in which his presence was greatly needed,—and the bitter pang of finding those, as it were, of his own household joining the cry against him. But a heavier stroke was yet to fall upon him. In 1693 he suddenly found himself, through the malignant representations of his enemies, deprived of the government of Pennsylvania. He would instantly have crossed the Atlantic to watch over the interests of the colony as far as now lay in his power; but his circumstances were embarrassed, and he was compelled to solicit a loan. In the mean time he bore up with unruffled equanimity against the adverse storms of fortune, and amused himself by collecting, from his own experience, a number of aphorisms on life and its business, which he published under the title of "Some fruits of solitude, in reflections and maxims relating to the conduct of human life." The tide of his affairs had now reached its lowest ebb, and a change for the better became visible. Through the interest of some persons of rank and influence his case was taken into consideration, and after being heard by the council in his own defence, he received an honourable acquittal. In the following year he was completely reconciled to his religious community, and was restored to the governorship of Pennsylvania. Though reinstated in all his privileges and immunities, he did not manifest any wish to visit Pennsylvania for some years after this period, but employed himself in preaching throughout the country, and in writing a vast number of pamphlets, the very names of which it would be tedious to recount. He had lost his wife in 1693, and in 1696 he entered the state of holy matrimony a second time. Within a few weeks after the celebration of his nuptials, his eldest son, a young man of about twenty years of age, died in the very spring-time of life and promise. In 1699 he embarked at Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, for America, and after a tedious passage of nearly three months, came to anchor in the Delaware on the last day of November. He had been absent from his territories upwards of fifteen years, and of course he found striking changes; but there was no change in the feelings of gratitude and affection for him. The affairs of the Province had not been conducted in the manner most satisfactory to him; but, on the whole, the colony was flourishing. One of the first subjects which engaged his attention was the condition of the negroes in the Province, some of whom had been purchased as labourers by the early settlers. Among the quakers it had been agreed, in 1696, that the buying, selling, and holding men in slavery, was inconsistent with the tenets of the Christian religion. This honourable resolution had been acted on in many instances, and measures were now taken by Penn to insure the treatment of the remaining slaves as members of the families to which they belonged, and a careful instruction of them in the truths of religion. In his own religious society his plans were adopted; but, on endeavouring to make them the law of the land in the assembly of 1700, he had the mortification to find them rejected. In another design, that of cultivating a friendly intercourse with the Indians, he was more successful; for he took upon himself the carrying of it into effect. Several treaties were made between him and different tribes of Indians, all of which were built on those strict principles of justice which formed the most prominent feature of his character. In 1701, Penn, while actively and strenuously engaged in promoting the welfare

of the Province, received intelligence that a plan was agitating in England for depriving the proprietory governors of North America of their authority, under the pretext of great abuse on one side, and great national benefit on the other; and that a bill for that purpose had been introduced in the house of lords. These unwelcome tidings resolved him to return to England, that he might give the measure the best opposition in his power; and he hastily summoned the assembly to take into consideration several important points which remained unsettled. This assembly was disturbed, as two or three preceding had been, by heartburnings between the members for the Province and those for the Territory; but, after much quarrelling, they managed to pass an immense number of measures, the most important of which was a new charter, by which the assembly or lower house was allowed to propose bills, to appoint committees, and to sit upon their own adjournments. Having ratified this charter, and appointed a council for the government of the Province during his absence, he embarked in the latter end of October, and arrived at Portsmouth about the middle of December. On Penn's arrival in England he found that the measure, which he had crossed the Atlantic to oppose, was entirely dropped. King William dying about this time, Penn found himself in great favour with Queen Anne, and became once again a visitor at court. After this period the details of his life are few and uninteresting. He resided for several years at Knightsbridge and Brentford, and was compelled, in consequence of a lawsuit in which he had been involved, and the issue of which was unfavourable, to take up his abode for some time within the rules of the fleet. To release himself from this thraldom, he was under the necessity of mortgaging the Province for the sum of £6,600; and having, in this way, obtained his liberty he resumed the employment which he had now for some time abandoned, of preaching the Gospel. The intelligence from America was very distressing. Constant dissensions, first between the members for the Province, and those for the Territory, and afterwards between the governors and assemblies, had agitated the Province ever since his departure. But the time was now approaching when these vexations could move him no longer. He was seized by an apoplectic fit in 1713, which left him in a pitiable state of helplessness, both of mind and body; and though he survived the first attack for several years, his life was little better than a death long drawn out. "His memory," says one of his friends, "was almost quite lost, and the use of his understanding suspended, so that he was not so conversible as formerly, and yet as near the truth in the love of it as before. * * * * Nevertheless, no insanity or lunacy at all appeared in his actions; and his mind was in an innocent state, as appeared by his very loving deportment to all that came near him; and that he had still a good sense of truth, is plain by some very clear sentences he spoke in the life and power of truth, in an evening meeting we had together there, wherein we were greatly comforted." Having gradually relapsed into a second childhood, he expired on the thirtieth of July, 1718, being then in the 74th year of his age. He was interred at Jordans in Buckinghamshire. A great concourse of people from all parts, including many of the most eminent quakers, paid the last tribute of respect to his honoured clay.

To sketch the character of William Penn is to draw a portrait of the

founders of Quakerism, for he embodied at once their virtues and faults. They were, in every sense of the word, a remarkable class of men. We have no wish to excuse the glaring errors of their theology, and still less do we desire to justify the wild and measureless extravagances which occasionally marked their conduct. But error in theology and overmuch zeal in displaying their opinions, ought never to hide from our view the sterling virtues which dwelt beneath. We blame their heresy, but we admire their honesty; we admit their fanaticism, but we reverence their devotion. While tyrannous persecution bestrid the land, these stout-hearted men, unscared by the perils that loured on their path, went forward in the prosecution of their high errand. They believed themselves commissioned by a Power, before which all earthly tribunals were but as the small dust in the balance, to proclaim a new revelation to mankind, and they disdained to be driven from their course by human threats or frowns. They were called on to suffer, and they did it manfully. They endured cruel mockings and scourgings; but their faith was steadfast. They brandished no weapons, but they shunned no enemy. Armed only by the naked majesty of innocence, they stood unmoved before the potentates of the world; and in the end, by what Milton finely calls "the unresistible might of weakness," they quelled the fiery rage of their oppressors. While other sects, to avoid the pains of persecution, abandoned their stated meetings, or resorted to obscure places where they might be held in safety, the Society of Friends went openly to their customary places of worship; and when brute violence drove them thence, they assembled, in the broad light of day, beneath the walls of their conventicles, and worshipped God as conscience advised, fearless of what man could do unto them.

Of these singular men, Penn was one of the most favourable specimens. Sprung from a family of proud and ancient name,—the only child of a father whose influence could have procured him extraordinary advancement,—possessed evidently of no inconsiderable portion of ambition—a principle which, indeed, in one form or other, is never absent from a large and noble mind,—endowed with abilities which would have rendered the gratification of a lofty ambition scarcely problematical,—and after experiencing all the temptations which society and intercourse with the world could throw in his path, he had the high moral daring and lofty principle to join, heart and hand, with those whom all around him stigmatized as a set of contemptible schismatics. The same spirit bore him on through a long and varied life. He shrunk from no exertions, and shunned no danger. Abroad and at home he went about proclaiming the great truths on which he believed man's salvation to depend. The consistency of his conduct, the unshaken adhesion to his principles at all times, and under all circumstances, is indeed an admirable feature in his character. The stand which he made again and again in defence of freedom of conscience, will immortalize him. To the Independents we must, indeed, ascribe the honour of having been the first to assert, and the first to act upon this great principle; but the Society of Friends has the merit of having carried it out to still greater purity. There is no page in the story of past time on which the eye of the Christian and the philanthropist will rest with

more enduring satisfaction than on that which records the early history of Pennsylvania.

Of Penn as a writer, our admiration must be qualified. He wrote too much to write well. The great majority of his publications were controversial; and it must be owned that many of them give countenance to Burnet's opinion, that he "had a tedious, luscious way of talking," which was apt to tire people. He entered fully into the doctrines common among the quakers of that day, such as the absolute sinfulness of hat-worship; the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit into the mind of every believer, and others equally untenable. His best known works are 'No cross, no crown; a discourse showing the nature and discipline of the holy cross of Christ;' his 'Portraiture of Primitive Quakerism;' and 'A brief account of the rise and progress of the people called Quakers:'—all of which have passed through several editions. A collection of his works was published at London in 1728, in 2 vols. folio, and a collection of his select works at London in 1782, in 5 vols. 8vo.

Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury.

BORN A. D. 1660.—DIED A. D. 1717.

CHARLES TALBOT, twelfth earl, and first duke of Shrewsbury, was son of Francis, eleventh earl, by Anna Maria, daughter of Robert, second earl of Cardigan. He was educated in the Roman catholic faith of his parents. His father being killed in a duel by the duke of Buckingham, occasioned by the licentious conduct of his countess, he succeeded to the title in the eighth year of his age. At the age of twenty he openly embraced protestantism, having been convinced by the reasonings of Dr Tillotson, to whom he had applied for advice on the subject, that the church in which he had been educated was in error. James, on his accession, laboured hard to persuade Shrewsbury to return to his mother-church, but without effect; he zealously opposed the measures of that monarch for the re-establishment of Roman catholicism, and was one of the illustrious seven, who, in June, 1688, signed the association inviting over the prince: he even mortgaged his estates to aid the cause, and, repairing to Holland, made offer of his purse and sword to William. Burnet informs us that Shrewsbury was much trusted by the prince, and consulted by him in preparing his famous declaration; he was also one of the three peers employed to treat with those sent by James.

On the settlement of the new government, Shrewsbury was nominated one of the privy-council, appointed secretary of state, and intrusted with the lord lieutenancy of three counties. The confidence which William reposed in him was still farther indicated by the appellation he sportively conferred upon him of his "king of hearts." In his principles, Shrewsbury was a moderate whig, though necessitated to act with the more zealous leaders of that party. The growing dislike of the king to the whigs placed Shrewsbury in a very embarrassing situation; and we find his correspondence, as published by Coxe, opening with a letter to his majesty, under the date, Sept. 6th, 1689, in which he requests permis-

sion to resign office on the plea of ill health and incapacity. The king refused to allow so valuable a servant to retire at that juncture; but on the formation of a tory administration, Shrewsbury fairly threw up the seals, and flung himself into the ranks of the opposition.

William soon perceived the error he had committed in throwing himself into the arms of a party that never could regard him but with secret disaffection, and the first means by which he tried to retrace his steps was his taking the seals of secretary of state from Nottingham and offering them to Shrewsbury. The latter, however, declined to accept of them, and retired to one of his country seats. At last, after a great deal of urging, he was prevailed upon to comply with the king's wishes. In 1694 he again received the seals. His compliance was rewarded with a dukedom, and from this period he was considered the head of the administration.

Shrewsbury was subjected to a serious charge on the apprehension of Sir John Fenwick in 1696. Among other statements made by Fenwick to the lord-high-steward after his apprehension, was this: that the duke of Shrewsbury and Lord Godolphin, while holding office under King William, had entered into correspondence with King James through the medium of Lord Middleton. The lord-high-steward transmitted Fenwick's disclosures to the king, who was then at the Hague, whereupon William evinced his confidence in his minister by instantly sending a copy of the document to Shrewsbury, accompanied with a kind and confidential letter, in which the following observation occurs:—"You are, I trust, too fully convinced of the entire confidence which I place in you, to imagine that such an accusation has made any impression on me, or that, if it had, I should have sent you this paper." The duke received this with all the indignation of conscious innocence, and urged the immediate arraignment of Fenwick, with a view to get at the entire truth. Unfortunately, before the trial came on, his lordship received a serious injury by a fall from his horse, which ruptured a blood vessel, and reduced him to a very weak state of health. In these circumstances, and chagrined perhaps by the disposition which was manifested in some quarters to listen to Fenwick's allegations, the duke again sought permission to resign the seals, but was dissuaded from persisting in his intentions to retire from office by the joint entreaties of the king and the earl of Portland.

Scarcely was Fenwick's affair over, when the feelings of the duke were again deeply wounded by a still more ridiculous charge got up by one Chaloner, a man of infamous character, and long notorious as a coiner and forger of bank-notes. It was alleged that the duke had contrived Sir John Fenwick's escape, and had two hours' conference with him before he left London; but the gross prevarication of the leading witness enabled the lord-justices to treat the accusation with the contempt it deserved. On the king's return from the continent Shrewsbury renewed his importunities for release from office, and at last obtained leave to surrender the seals. He was now successively offered the posts of lord-treasurer, governor of Ireland, and lastly, his choice of any employment under the crown; but he rejected every attempt to draw him again into the administration, and obtained leave to travel on the continent with the view of improving his health.

He paid his respects at Versailles to the king of France, who, as he

says, received him "tolerably civilly." "Nobody was so perfectly civil," he however adds, in his private journal, "as my old acquaintance the duke of Lauzun; for he began to tell me how kindly King James had always taken the civility I had shown him when I was sent on the message; and was grounding upon this some farther discourse, when I cut him short, and told him I confessed I had great compassion at that time for his circumstances, but desired that we might not discourse on that, but on any other subject. An hour after, he took occasion to commend the prince of Wales, and wished that by any means I might have an opportunity of seeing so fine a youth. I told him I questioned not his merit, but had no great curiosity; but if I must see him, I would much rather it were here than in England. This reply," adds the duke, "dashed all further discourse of this kind." After a stay of only four days at Paris, the duke proceeded to Montpelier, where he spent three months, and thence proceeded to Geneva. After spending the summer at Geneva, he set out for Rome, where he arrived in November, 1701.

On the accession of Queen Anne, Shrewsbury was offered the post of master of the horse, which he declined; he however entered into a friendly correspondence with Marlborough and Godolphin, though at the same time he continued to maintain an interchange of letters with the whig leaders. In 1705 he quitted Rome, and taking the route of Germany repaired to Augsburg, where he married the marchioness of Paleotti, an Italian widow-lady, whose acquaintance he had made in Rome. Early in January, 1706, he returned to England. His conduct had for some time back disappointed the whig party. He eventually united with Harley, and accepted the office of lord chamberlain to Queen Anne, which post he also held under her successor until 1715, when he resigned, either from disgust or indisposition. He died on the 1st of February, 1717, leaving no issue.

James, Earl Stanhope.

BORN A.D. 1673.—DIED A.D. 1720

JAMES STANHOPE, first Earl Stanhope, was the eldest son of the honourable Alexander Stanhope, who for sixteen years filled the office of envoy to the states-general. He was introduced to public life at an early age by his father, whom he accompanied to Spain at the age of eighteen. He afterwards travelled alone into Italy, and served as a volunteer under the duke of Savoy. In 1694 King William presented him with a lieutenant-colonelcy in the foot-guards. He was present at the siege of Namur, where he exhibited extraordinary bravery, and was desperately wounded.

Returning to England, he abandoned the profession of arms for a while, and sought glory under other laurels. Being elected member for Newport in 1700, he became a close attender in the house, and frequently took a leading part in the debates. In the beginning of 1708, when a French invasion in favour of the pretender was expected, Brigadier Stanhope moved to bring in a bill to dissolve the clans in Scotland, in which motion he was supported by Sir David Dalrymple.

The bill was ordered, but afterwards allowed to drop aside. Again the passion of military life came over him, and he entered into the service of the king of Spain, who appointed him major-general of his forces. One of his most brilliant exploits was the reduction of Port-Mahon in Minorca. In 1709 he attempted the relief of Alicant; and although he failed in the attempt, yet he procured an honourable capitulation for the garrison.

On the accession of George I., he again flung himself into political life, and accepted one of the secretaryships of state; and soon after, in spite of a good deal of caballing, he was constituted first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer. In 1717 he was promoted to the dignity of a viscount of Great Britain, by the style and title of Lord Viscount Stanhope of Elvaston in the county of Derby, and next year he was further advanced to the dignity of earl.

He died in 1720 while in the midst of official parliamentary business. It is said that his death was occasioned by a sudden determination of blood to the head, excited by an abusive attack made upon him in the house by the duke of Wharton.

Sir John Leake.

BORN A. D. 1666.—DIED A. D. 1720

Admiral Leake was the second son of Captain Richard Leake, master-gunner of England,—an appointment considered at that day of no mean consequence. Sir John was born at Rotherhithe in the year 1666; and having entered into the navy at an early age, served as a midshipman on board the Royal Prince, in the ever-memorable sea-fight which took place between the English and Dutch fleets on the 10th of October, 1673. We find him present at the battle of Bantry-bay, as commander of the Firedrake fire-ship, to which he had been appointed on the 24th of September in the preceding year. His father, who appears to have been a man possessing considerable science in his profession, had invented a particular species of ordnance, which threw a small shell or carcass, like the more modern invention of the cohorn or howitzer. Young Leake having, under his instruction, acquired considerable adroitness in the management of this piece of artillery, threw several carcasses with such effect as to set on fire one of the enemies' line of battle ships, commanded by the Chevalier Coetlogon. Admiral Herbert particularly noticed his merit on the occasion, and rewarded it by promoting him to be captain of the Dartmouth, a ship of forty guns. Shortly after the death of William III. it was determined that a powerful armament should be sent to sea, under the command of the earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, then lord-high-admiral of England. On this occasion Captain Leake was strongly recommended by his friend, Mr Churchill, to his lordship, who appointed him his captain. The death of the king caused the removal of the earl of Pembroke from the admiralty board, for the purpose of making room for Prince George of Denmark, and cancelled the appointment of Mr Leake. As a recompense, however, for this disappointment, he was made captain of the Association, a second rate; and in

less than three weeks was removed from that ship into the Exeter, of sixty guns, and ordered to Newfoundland on an expedition against the fishery and colony established there by France. Soon after his return in the month of December, 1702, he was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and commander of the ships at Spithead. Early in the year 1704, the vice-admiral was appointed to command the convoy ordered to Lisbon for the protection of the immense fleet of transports and store-ships sent thither for the service of King Charles III. Immediately previous to this, he received the honour of knighthood, and having reached the Tagus with his important charge in perfect safety, put himself in the month of March under the orders of Sir George Rooke. In the April following he accompanied Sir George on his very successful cruise into the Mediterranean. The fleet was on its return from thence, as it is reported, to Lisbon; but this resolution was changed, while on their passage thither, by the recommendation, and as many people, with apparent truth, insist, by the express advice of Sir John Leake, who proposed to attempt Gibraltar by a *coup de main*. The success which attended the execution of this spirited project is well known.

In the battle of Malaga, which took place in the month of August following, Sir John, who had his flag flying on board the St George, a second rate, commanded the leading division of the blue, which was the van-squadron. In the month of January, 1705, he was joined at Lisbon by Sir Thomas Dilkes, who reinforced him with a squadron of five ships of war, carrying with him, at the same time, a commission, appointing him vice-admiral of the white squadron, and commander-in-chief of her majesty's ships and vessels employed in the Mediterranean. Having on the 6th of March collected his whole force, he proceeded from the Tagus at the head of no less than thirty-five ships of the line, twenty-three of which were English, and the remainder either Dutch or Portuguese. His arrival in the bay of Gibraltar was a second time so sudden, and so totally unexpected by the enemy, that he had the good fortune completely to surprise the Baron de Pointi, together with the whole of his squadron, consisting of five ships of the line, which had in vain attempted to co operate with the army that besieged it.

During the summer of the year 1706, Sir John Leake commanded in chief in the British channel. In the ensuing year, having been appointed admiral of the white, and commander-in-chief of the fleet, he was sent again into the Mediterranean. While on his passage thither, having had the good fortune to fall in with a numerous fleet of victuallers belonging to the enemy, he captured no less than seventy-five sail, which he carried with him to Barcelona. After having relieved Barcelona, and convoyed thither the consort of King Charles, with a considerable reinforcement of troops which accompanied her from Italy, he proceeded to Sardinia, which island he speedily reduced, as he immediately afterwards did Minorca,—services so highly advantageous to the common cause, that medals were struck for the purpose of perpetuating the memory of them. He returned to England in the month of October, having been appointed, during his absence, one of the council to Prince George, the lord-high-admiral. Sir John, however, scarcely reached England in time to take his seat at the board, the prince dying on the 28th of October, only six days subsequent to his

arrival. The earl of Pembroke, who succeeded the prince in his office, again appointed Sir John admiral of the home, or channel fleet, for the ensuing year; and, on the 24th of May, he was created, by letters patent, rear-admiral of Great Britain.

When the preliminaries of peace were signed in the year 1712, Sir John was sent with General Hill, in the month of July, to take possession of Dunkirk, according to the treaty; and having, on his return from thence, struck his flag, he never again accepted of any naval command.

Owing to some court cabal, and the personal dislike to Sir John, entertained by some individuals who possessed irresistible influence in the councils of King George I., the admiral, although it was impossible for the most inveterate malice to affix the slightest stigma or slur on his character, was most unjustly and scandalously dismissed, not only from the admiralty board, but from every appointment he held. Retiring to a country villa, erected by himself near Greenwich, he continued ever afterwards to live a private life. He died on the 21st of August, 1720.

James Craggs.

DIED A. D. 1720.

THE patronage of the dutchess of Marlborough elevated this individual from an exceedingly obscure situation to the office of joint postmaster-general. He was the son of a barber, and received his early education at Chelsea. He was attached to various embassies, and was sent with the intelligence of Queen Anne's death to the British resident at Hanover. Lord Sunderland set him up as a rival to Walpole, and, it is probable, that, had he lived long enough, if he did not coalesce with, he would have been exceedingly troublesome to that celebrated minister. He succeeded Addison as secretary of state; and, on several occasions, acted as a lord-justice during the king's visits to Hanover. He became deeply involved in the South sea bubble, having, with his father, according to the report of the committee of secrecy, held fictitious stock to the amount of £36,000. Pending the parliamentary inquiry on the subject that ensued, he fell sick of the small-pox, and died, at an early age, in 1720.

Craggs appears to have been a man of pleasure, talent, and great suavity of manners. He patronised Pope, who wrote an epitaph to his memory; and Gay, to whom he made a present of South sea stock; also Addison, Warburton, and Kneller. He frequently deplored the meanness of his birth, of which he was sometimes reminded by his noble contemporaries. On one occasion, he remarked to the duke of Buckingham, who had spoken with great severity against ministers,—"Let what will be said, your grace knows that business must be carried on; and the old proverb is true, that 'the pot must boil.'" "Ay," replied the duke, "and there is, as you know, Mr Secretary, as old, and as true a proverb, that, 'when the pot boils, the scum floats uppermost.'"

Sheffield, Duke of Normanby and Buckinghamshire.

BORN A. D. 1649.—DIED A. D. 1721.

If the principal charm of biography consisted in recounting swelling titles, aristocratic pride, and high official situation, few could desire a more interesting life to narrate than that on which we are entering. But the mists of the valley gradually gather around all accidental distinctions, and the eye of the student who scans history that he may learn what to admire and imitate, reverts to him only whose inborn virtue has raised him to an eminence above the smoke and stir of ordinary life.

John Sheffield was the only son of Edmund, earl of Mulgrave, and was born in the year 1649. He was early left an orphan by the death of his father in 1658. The state of the country at that time possessed little attraction for a young scion of aristocracy, and his tutor deemed it expedient to carry him abroad, in order that his studies might be more successfully prosecuted. The young earl is said, when no more than twelve years of age, to have summarily dismissed his tutor, for a ludicrous inconsistency which he discovered between his precepts and practice.[1] Great praise is bestowed upon him by his biographers, for a resolution which he is said to have made when his tutor was dismissed, of supplying the deficiencies of his education by his own industry; and unquestionably to pursue a course of study was highly commendable in a mere boy, who had so many allurements to idleness. When we learn that his studies were undertaken chiefly for the sake of rivalling the gallants of the day in knowledge, and that they never detained him more than "several hours in the day' from his pleasures, we are compelled to qualify our praise. Along with his appetite for knowledge, he imbibed a thirst for military glory. In 1666 he went to sea as a volunteer in the first Dutch war. In the following year he obtained the command of one of the troops of horse, raised to defend the country in case of an invasion. On the meeting of the parliament in October, 1667, he was summoned, in spite of his extreme youth, to fill his place as a peer, but the summons being strenuously opposed by the earl of Rochester, was afterwards cancelled. He would have been a prodigy had he escaped uncontaminated from the flood of licentiousness which at this period was sweeping down all the old barriers of morality As might be expected, he sailed with the tide, or rather he outstripped it in his headlong career of debauchery. He had early in life entered himself amongst the worshippers of the muses; and his poetical powers, such as they were, he employed to heighten the relish of his amours. These merits—that is to say, debauchery, and the power of writing

[1] The story is, that while in France he was earnestly advised by his tutor not to kneel as the mass was carried through the street, since such an act was nothing better than idolatry. Resolved to follow this pious counsel, he was in such a hurry, when next he met the procession of priests bearing the mass, to get out of the road, that he stumbled over his governor whom he found already on his knees close behind him. This story is not a very likely one, but it has been preserved. What is not interesting that relates to a duke?

smutty rhymes—raised him to some notice at court, and enabled him to do Dryden material service in gaining the situation of poet-laureate. In 1672 he went out again as a volunteer against the Dutch. He distinguished himself by his bravery, and, on his return to London, was promoted to the command of the Royal Catherine, at that time the best among the second-rate ships in the navy. With this honour he was especially delighted: it gave him, he says, more pleasure than any favour he afterwards received from the court. So true it is, that the first distinction we attain is the sweetest. There has been more than one instance of men, whose lives have been, as it were, crowded with honours, looking back to some early and comparatively unimportant triumph, a college honour or a maiden speech, with a keener delight than the most brilliant of their subsequent successes could awaken. In the following year we find him colonel of a regiment of his own raising, to which was added, shortly afterwards, the command of the old Holland regiment. On May 29th, 1674, he was installed into the order of the garter, and made a gentleman of the bed-chamber. These civil honours, glittering enough, but otherwise of no interest, did not content him, for in the following year he made a campaign in the French service under Turenne. A long story is told by some of his biographers—himself among the number—of intrigues which were carried on at this period about the office of colonel to the first regiment of foot-guards; but it would be tedious to narrate, and sufficient is known when we say that he failed in his effort to obtain the command, but had subtlety enough to prevent the success of the person who opposed him. In 1679, on the disgrace of the duke of Monmouth, he was made lord-lieutenant of the county of York and governor of Hull; and in the same year he wrote an essay, entitled, 'The Character of a Tory,' which was designed as an answer to the marquess of Halifax's 'Character of a Trimmer;' but which cannot, for a moment, be compared with that able pamphlet, either as a piece of argument or of elegant writing. Though he does not proceed to the ultima Thule of tory principles—the doctrine of passive obedience—he borders on it as closely as possible. Indeed we cannot see, for our own parts, why, when he admits the king's dispensing power, he should not take one step farther and make his system harmonious by denying the right of the subject to resist. The concluding passage is so characteristic of the writer, that we must be permitted to quote it:—"Whereas, our poor trimmer blames people for so monopolizing the prince's favour, that the poor trimmer can get none of it, I confess 'tis true, but methinks not very strange. I allow his simile to hold good, that not only these gentlemen, (the ministry,) but any other men in the world, even trimmers themselves, would engross the sunshine with the hazard of being burnt, in case there were not enough of it for every body. And for my part, though it is a great fault in mankind, I cannot but charitably forgive it, because I am one of that race myself; and bad is the best of us, whig, tory, and trimmer." It is this hard unblushing selfishness which makes the writings of the pseudo-wits of Charles the Second's reign so peculiarly disgusting. It may be true that Sheffield has rightly stated the general feelings of statesmen; but surely this distinct avowal and semi-commendation of them is an efficacious method of extinguishing all generous emotion or lofty principle in nobler spirits.

In 1680 Tangier was besieged by the Moors, and the earl, having volunteered his services, was sent to its relief. It is said that the ship, appointed by the king to convey him, was in such a leaky condition as to give rise to a suspicion that his life had been aimed at, and that on discovering this, he would not allow the king's health to be drunk on board the vessel till they were safely landed. His expedition was immediately successful, for the Moors retired without striking a blow, and on his return his anger against the king was speedily dissipated by returning kindness. Mulgrave had always lived on terms of great intimacy and friendship with the duke of York, and when the duke ascended the throne he was immediately sworn of the privy council, and, in a little time afterwards, appointed lord-chamberlain of the household. In the measures of this disgraceful reign he bore a considerable part. He was one of the members of the ecclesiastical commission. After the Revolution he was, on this account, brought into some trouble, from which the assistance of Tillotson rescued him. In a letter to Tillotson he attempts to defend, or rather palliate his conduct by asserting his ignorance of the office being unconstitutional. This is an expedient to which a man of much talent would never have resorted; for such gross ignorance as his excuse implied was to the last degree disgraceful. He complied so far with the wishes of his sovereign, as to attend and kneel at mass; but when urged by the popish priests to throw off the garb of protestantism, which, indeed, had always hung very loosely about him, he replied, as we are informed by Burnet, that he was willing to receive instruction, and that he had taken much pains to believe in God, who made the world and all men in it; but that he should not easily be persuaded that man was quits, and made God again.[1]

Though the earl took no part in bringing about the Revolution, keeping himself at a most sedulous distance from the bold, and of some we may say, honest men who effected that great change, he lent himself willingly to the establishment of a new government. He did not, however, desert his old master with the heartless treachery which characterized Halifax and others. When a letter was brought from the king to the council, stating that he was in the hands of the rabble at Feversham, and praying for protection, Mulgrave was the only man who had courage to bring the letter forward openly; and though much displeasure was expressed by some members of the council, and means were tried to thwart his endeavours to obtain relief for the ill-fated prince, he manfully persisted, and at length compelled them, for very shame, to send a body of troops to the king's release. In the same way, when the house of the Spanish ambassador was pulled down by the mob, he took upon himself, though no longer in office, to order apartments for the ambassador at Whitehall. For some time after the Revolution he remained out of office It is said that he was personally applied to by William to join the government, but refused for a long time, and the story gains some credit from the circumstance of his being created marquess of Normanby in 1694. His scruples must have

[1] After relating this story, Dr Johnson remarks, "A pointed sentence is bestowed by successive transmission on the last it will fit: this sentence of transubstantiation, whatever be its value, was uttered long ago by Anne Askew, one of the first sufferers for the protestant religion, who, in the time of Henry VIII. was tortured in the Tower."—*Lives of the Poets.*

been ultimately overcome, for before the end of William's reign he entered the cabinet council, and received a pension of £3000 a-year. Tradition states, that in his younger days he had been a suitor, and not quite an unfavoured one, to the Princess Anne. If this be true, it accounts for his rapid advancement on Anne's ascent to the throne. In 1702, just before her coronation, he was made lord-privy-seal, and shortly afterwards lord-lieutenant and custos-rotulorum of the north-riding of Yorkshire. In the ensuing October he was chosen one of the commissioners to treat of the union between England and Scotland; and, in March 1703, he was first made duke of Normanby, and a fortnight subsequently, duke of Buckinghamshire. These honours, instead of binding him to the queen's service, served only to inflame, to a higher pitch, his natural arrogance. Becoming jealous of the duke of Marlborough, he resigned his offices,—refused to accept the chancellorship offered to him by the queen, who was anxious to appease him,—and so far lost command of his temper as to break out into satire even against her majesty. While thus unembarrassed by the cares of office, he employed himself in building the magnificent house in James's park, which has since become one of the royal palaces. After dinner he was accustomed to spend a good part of the evening in gambling, and scandal adds that he did not gain the reputation of a fair gamester. On the change of ministry in 1710, he once more accepted office, and we are, therefore, to regard him as concurring in the general policy of Harley's weak and wicked ministry,—a ministry which was built on the tongue of a shrew, and the intrigue of a waiting woman, and overthrown by internal dissension. When Harley, in his turn, fell through the machinations of a still bolder intriguer, Buckingham clung to him, and became a steady opponent of the measures of the succeeding administration. His idle hours were spent in writing indifferent tragedies and bad poetry. He expired on the 24th of February, 1721. His corpse lay in almost regal state for some days at Buckingham-house, after which it was conveyed, with a magnificence which scarcely became a subject, to Westminster-abbey, and there interred. A splendid monument was erected to his memory in Henry the Seventh's chapel; and the following inscription, which he had himself written, was inscribed upon it along with his name and titles:—

Dubius sed non improbus vixi,
Incertus morte et inturbatus.
Humanum est nescire et errare.
Christum adveneror, Deo confido
Omnipotenti, Benevolentissimo,
Ens entium miserere mihi.[3]

He was thrice married, and each time to a widow. By his first and second wife he had no children; but, by his third—who was a Lady Katharine Darnley, a natural daughter of James the Second, and who had been married to the earl of Anglesea, from whom she was parted at her own suit—he had several. One only of these survived their father, Edmund, a youth of high promise, who was unfortunately cut

[3] We have given the inscription as it was written by Buckingham himself. The whole of it was not inserted, as Atterbury thought the words *Christum adveneror* t tame for the walls of the abbey. This passage was accordingly struck out.

off at an early age. His mild virtues have been celebrated in some beautiful lines by Pope, and in an elegy upon him by Lord Orrery, the conclusion of which is very elegantly turned. Besides these he had a number of illegitimate children, to one of whom his estate ultimately lapsed.

If there be any fatality connected with a title, there is no honour which a wise man would more sedulously shun than the dukedom of Buckinghamshire. Not to speak of its more ancient or more modern possessors, let us take the three dukes who flourished respectively in the reigns of Charles I., Charles II., and Anne, and though springing from two perfectly different families, we shall find the same character predominant in all. For the honour of human nature, we trust that no other title ever was held by three such owners in succession. Disgustingly licentious in private, and factious in public life,—arrogant beyond endurance,—endowed with abilities not much above mediocrity,—and wrapped up in a selfishness which had not one redeeming feature; all lived unhonoured and died unlamented. If the duke, whose life we have been sketching, differed in any thing from the rest, it was that his arrogance rose to a still higher pitch. We have already mentioned that the duke of Buckingham aspired to fame as an author. Horace Walpole says that he wrote in the hope of being confounded with his predecessor, Lord Sheffield. His poems have received the praise of many high names in English literature, such as Dryden, Pope, and Addison; but now that the charms of title and wealth have passed away, no eye can discover their merits. His Essay on Poetry is the best of his performances, and has received the highest commendations; but the most substantial and valuable mark of honour was bestowed on his 'Essay on Satire,' since Dryden was beaten on a suspicion of his having written it. Sir Walter Scott, in his life of Dryden, speaks of this poem very contemptuously, though not unjustly. "The whole Essay is a mere stagnant level, and no part of it so far rises above the rest as to bespeak the work of a superior hand. The thoughts, even when conceived with some spirit, are clumsily and unhappily brought out."

His works were printed after his death in two magnificent quarto volumes; but the publication was suppressed. They afterwards appeared more modestly in two vols. 8vo.

John, Duke of Marlborough.

BORN A. D. 1650.—DIED A. D. 1722.

THE family of this illustrious general is traced to the Courcils of Poitou, who came over with the conqueror. John Churchill was born at Ash, in Devonshire, on the 24th of June, 1650. His father and grandfather had been conspicuous for their loyalty in the civil wars. The father, Sir Winston Churchill, was rewarded with certain offices under government; his daughter, Arabella, was appointed maid of honour to the duchess of York, and John was made page of honour to the duke. John received his early education at St Paul's school, but he was taken from that seminary in his twelfth year, and presented to the duke of York, on whose favour the boy soon gained. At a re-

view of the guards, the duke asked his page what profession he should wish to enter: the boy fell on his knees, and solicited a pair of colours in one of those fine regiments. His first essay in arms was at Tangiers then in our hands, and besieged by the Moors. His second campaign was in 1672, during the alliance between England and France: he then served with the English auxiliaries under Monmouth in that army which Louis XIV. commanded nominally in person, but which was really directed by Turenne and Condé. In this campaign he distinguished himself greatly. At the siege of Nimeguen he was particularly taken notice of by Turenne, who bestowed on him the appellation of 'the handsome Englishman.' He appeared also to so much advantage at the reduction of Maestricht, that he received the thanks of the king of France at the head of the army. Continuing till 1677 to serve in the war against the emperor, he acquired under the celebrated French generals of the age, that knowledge of the art of war which he afterwards employed with such advantage against the power of France, and for the protection of the emperor's dominions.

On his return to England, the king gave him a lieutenant-colonelcy, and the duke made him gentleman of his bed-chamber. In the twenty-eighth year of his age he married Sarah Jennings, then in her eighteenth year, and by this match at once gratified what appears to have been a sincere passion, and strengthened his interest at court. This young lady was of a good family. She had been placed, in her twelfth year, in the duchess of York's household, and had there become the favourite companion and chosen friend of the Princess Anne.

During the latter years of Charles II., Colonel Churchill was confidentially employed by the duke of York; he accompanied him to Scotland, and was one of the few persons who escaped with that prince from the wreck of the Gloucester yacht in Yarmouth roads. In 1683 he was created Baron Churchill of Eyemouth in Scotland, and, upon the marriage of the Princess Anne, his wife was, at the princess's earnest desire, made lady of her royal highness's bed-chamber. Upon the accession of James, further honours flowed in upon the fortunate soldier: he was raised to the English peerage by the title of Baron Churchill of Sandridge in Hertford, and, during Monmouth's insurrection, he was promoted to the rank of major-general. The decisive action of Sedgmoor is ascribed mainly to Churchill's admirable tactics; for Lord Feversham, 'the royalist general,' displayed only his usual imbecility at this critical moment. James rewarded his favourite with every manifestation of gratitude and attachment; but the favourite was about to prove himself unworthy of the confidence reposed in him, if indeed such a principle as that of confidence could enter into the friendship of the two men: for it is notorious that Churchill's favour with the prince had been originally purchased by the seduction of his sister, and maintained by her consenting to a life of infamy. It was fitting, perhaps, that benefits thus purchased should be so repaid. At the crisis of James's fate Marlborough deserted him. He had even been among the first who made overtures to the prince of Orange. A feeble attempt has indeed been made to vindicate Marlborough's conduct in this instance: it has been said that "he discharged his duty as a faithful friend and subject, by telling the king what the feelings of the people were respecting his conduct, and warning him of the consequences

which were likely to ensue." But this, granting the truth of it to the fullest extent, can furnish no apology for the baseness of Marlborough's conduct in continuing to deceive his royal master, up to the very last moment that deception was possible, and even accepting of the command of a portion of the troops designed to act against the prince of Orange on his landing.

Soon afterwards, Churchill was made earl of Marlborough,—a title which seems to have been chosen because of a family connexion with the last earls of that name. He then served during a short campaign in the Low Countries, under the prince of Waldeck; and, on being recalled, was employed in the reduction of Cork and Kinsale in Ireland, which still held out for his late master. The measure of Marlborough's infamy, however, was not yet complete. There is now incontestable proof before the public that, after all that had passed, he hesitated not to enter into a correspondence with the exiled king, in which he expressed contrition for the part which he had taken in the Revolution, engaged to make amends by his future conduct, and obtained a promise of pardon for himself, his lady, his friend Godolphin, and some others! Let us hear how one of Marlborough's most ingenious apologists endeavours to hide his shame, or at least to palliate his offences:—"Actions," says the Quarterly Reviewer of 'Coxe's Life of Marlborough,' "which cannot be justified, may often be extenuated, if we give but a just consideration to the circumstances and the spirit of the times. In all great revolutions, the foundations, not of government alone, but of morality, also are shaken. There is so much villany and falsehood at the commencement, (for they who aim at revolutionizing a country scruple at no arts, however base, and at no crimes, however atrocious,) and so much wickedness of every kind in the progress, that from seeing right and wrong habitually confounded, men insensibly adapt their principles to the season, and self-preservation and self-advancement become the only rule of conduct. This was exemplified in the state of England during the interval between the Restoration and Revolution; the standard of general morality was never at any other time so low. The persons who figured in public life had grown up in an age of anarchy, and there were few among them who made any pretensions either to public or private virtue. Marlborough was far superior in both to his contemporaries, but he was yet young in state affairs; and when a well-rooted attachment to the [redacted] and religion of his country led him to concur in inviting over the prince of Orange, the strong measure of deposing the sovereign was not contemplated by him, as the necessary, or even as the possible consequence. 'I do solemnly protest,' says his wife in the account of her own conduct, speaking of William's accession, 'that if there be truth in any mortal, I was so very simple a creature, that I never once dreamt of his being king. I imagined that the prince of Orange's sole design was to provide for the safety of his own country, by obliging King James to keep the laws of ours; and that he would go back as soon as he had made us all happy: that there was no sort of difficulty in the execution of this design; and that to do so much good would be a greater pleasure to him than to be king of any country upon earth.' In saying this the duchess had no intention of offering any apology for herself, still less for her husband. Want of sincerity was not

among her faults, for she was of a frank and honourable nature, and as it is certain that Marlborough reposed in her the most entire confidence, and even, on great political occasions, sometimes submitted his own better judgment to hers, it may fairly be presumed from this passage, that his views in inviting William went no farther than are there stated. The motives which may have induced him to correspond with the exiled king are briefly indicated by Mr Coxe. He was personally attached to James,—a prince who, with all his grievous faults, was not without some redeeming virtues. He was displeased by the measures of William in favour of the dissenters,—measures which he believed injurious to the welfare of that church, the preservation of which had been the immediate cause and object of the Revolution. Something too is ascribed to the cold and repulsive manners of the new king, and to his imprudent predilection for foreigners. But undoubtedly what chiefly influenced him was a distrust of the stability of the new government, which made him provide means for his security in case of a restoration So James himself understood it; 'they were to be pardoned and in security,' he says, 'in case the king returned, and yet suffer nothing in the interim, nor to give any other proofs of their sincerity than bare words and empty promises.'"

Undoubtedly the reviewer is correct when he says that the standard of general morality was low when Marlborough commenced his political career; yet what does this statement make for the man of whose "well-rooted attachment to the laws and religion of his country" we are presently assured? As to the solemn assurances of that "simple creature," Sarah Jennings, they are really too ridiculous to deserve a moment's consideration. No one knew better the feelings of those around her, and saw farther both into motives and their consequences, than that ambitious, artful, and strong-minded woman. Nothing can be clearer than that the whole of Marlborough's conduct was dictated by the purest selfishness; that for personal advantage he was ready to sacrifice alike the faith of a statesman and the honour of a soldier. On the fact of his correspondence with the exiled king being discovered, Marlborough was committed to the Tower, and narrowly escaped the fate his crimes deserved. After a short confinement, however, the arch-traitor was set at liberty; and, after Mary's death, was even restored to his seat at the council-board, and appointed governor to the young duke of Gl[illegible]ster. William saw and appreciated Marlborough's talents as a g[illegible]eral; and his last advice to his successor was, that she should look upon Marlborough as the most proper person in her dominions to lead her armies and direct her councils.

Anne was but too happy to gratify the husband of her favourite The garter was given to Marlborough; he was appointed captain-general of the forces at home and abroad; and, at his suggestion, his friend Godolphin was made lord-high-treasurer. Marlborough was not, however, altogether satisfied with the queen's political arrangements, in which he thought his uncle, Rochester, an inveterate tory, had so large an influence. In his own wife too he found a source of disquietude. That extraordinary woman had "long been inclined to favour the whigs, and from the marriage of her daughter with Lord Spencer, son of the earl of Sunderland, that inclination had increased, till it became a strong and decided preference. If fortune had placed her in the situation of

her royal mistress she would have made a queen like Elizabeth, or the Russian Catherine, without the personal weakness of the one, or the vices of the other; her character was of the same stamp, commanding and imperious. The political sphere in which she was placed made her, of necessity, interested in political affairs; the wife of Marlborough and the favourite of Queen Anne could see, or hear, or think of little else; her talents qualified her to take a part, but unhappily she was unable to act with moderation, for her temper was warm, as well as frank and generous. During William's life all difference between herself and the queen, upon political opinions, was suspended by their common dislike to the king; but upon Anne's accession, a dispathy immediately began, which, though only perceptible at first in the point of difference, insensibly extended, till it leavened the whole feelings of both, and converted old friendship into inveterate ill will. Such a woman could not withhold from interfering when her interference might well have been spared; her husband's interest, and welfare, and glory, were now inseparably connected with the prosperity of the state, and it was impossible for her to refrain from suggesting measures which, in her judgment, seemed essential to his success. Obedience was the only virtue in which she was deficient:—perhaps the fault was in Marlborough himself, who loved her too fondly to exact submission, when he failed to persuade her that she was acting from mistaken views."

In May, 1702, war with France and Spain being resolved on, Marlborough embarked for Holland, and was appointed generalissimo of the allied army. His first campaign was highly successful, and rolled back the line of defence from the Dutch frontiers, to which it at one time seemed about to be confined. Venloo, Stevenswaert, and Ruremonde, were taken, and the campaign concluded by the capture of Liege. The States were unbounded in their expressions of gratitude to the man who had saved their country from foreign aggression, and Anne rewarded her successful soldier with a dukedom. His wife seemed against his accepting the title of duke, which she said was "a great burden in a family where there were many sons;" but Godolphin urged him to receive it, and his friend Heinsius eloquently expatiated on the happy effect which it might have amongst his associates in the field, the foreign princes. His scruples, if he ever had any, were overcome by the representations of his friends, and he was created marquess of Blandford and duke of Marlborough, with a pension of £5000 during the queen's life. In less than three months after these honours had been awarded him, he had the misfortune to lose his only surviving son, a youth of seventeen, of high promise and attainments. He died at Cambridge of the small-pox. His father deeply felt the loss he had sustained. In one of his letters to his friend Godolphin, alluding to his deprivation, he says, "Since it has pleased God to take him, I do wish from my soul I could think less of him."

In resuming military operations in the second campaign, it was Marlborough's wish to carry the war into the heart of Brabant and West Flanders, but he was shackled by the misconduct of the Dutch generals Cohorn, Opdaam, and Spaar, and was obliged to content himself for the remainder of the season with the reduction of Huy, Limburg, and Guelder. Disgusted at the thick-headed obstinacy of his military colleagues, and irritated and disappointed by the clamour of parties at

home, he seriously communicated to his duchess his intention of resigning his command and retiring at the same time from political life. The duchess communicated this intention to the queen by letter, who replied in a very confidential epistle. She did not wonder, she said, at the duke's feelings and wish, but she hoped he would consider the interests of his country as paramount to his own gratification. "As for your poor unfortunate[1] faithful Morley," the letter continued, "she could not bear it; for if ever you should forsake me, I would have nothing more to do with the world, but make another abdication; for what is a crown when the support of it is gone?" She concluded by saying, that she never would forsake the Marlboroughs and Godolphin, but always be their constant and faithful friend. "We four," said she, "must never part, till death mows us down with his impartial hand." After such a letter, it was not possible for Marlborough to persist in his resignation. Some changes in the ministry also made his situation for a time less irksome. By his influence Harley and St John were made secretaries of state. Marlborough had the most implicit confidence in both these men, but they did not deceive the duchess.

Meanwhile, the French, pursuing their successes on the side of Germany, had opened a way for themselves into the heart of the empire; and the elector of Bavaria, commanding the course of the Danube, from its sources to the frontier of Austria, communicated on the one side with the French armies on the Rhine, and with the Hungarian insurgents on the other. Marlborough now resolved on moving his army to the Danube. The timid Dutch, content with driving the din of war from their immediate neighbourhood, were extremely averse to the idea of going beyond a mere defensive system, but Marlborough declared, that if they abandoned him, he would lead the English troops alone to the Moselle. It is not our object to follow the movements of the duke throughout this arduous and most brilliant campaign, which was gloriously terminated by the battle of Blenheim. Marlborough now stood in need of rest. "His attacks of fever and headache were so frequent, that had he been an idle man he would have been pitied as a confirmed valetudinarian. After the action at Blenheim, where he was seventeen hours on horseback, he was obliged to be bled, when he had 'no time to be sick,' and during the subsequent operations, when he had not an hour's quiet, his state of body was such, that he said, if he were in London, he should be in his bed in a high fever. The fatigue and anxiety of three months had made him, in his own feeling and appearance, ten years older, and he was so emaciated that he apprehended nothing but extreme care and good nursing during the winter could save him from consumption. But the cares of the whole confederacy were laid on him. At this time affairs in Italy bore the worst aspect; on that side every thing must have been lost without a prompt reinforcement of troops, the only power which could supply them was Prussia; and the duke of Savoy, the emperor, and the king of the Romans, whose admiration for the great Englishman amounted almost to a feeling like friendship, knew that Marlborough's personal representations to the king of Prussia might succeed, when every other mode of negotiation would surely fail. In

[1] Unfortunate, was an epithet which she always applied to herself, in her private letters, after the death of her son.

the worst season of the year, therefore, Marlborough undertook this fatiguing journey of eight hundred miles, less, as he himself said, from any hope of success, than that he might not be reproached for leaving any thing undone. He was, however, successful, and the force thus obtained was the means of saving the duke of Savoy from being totally overpowered. On his way back he met the welcome tidings that Landau and Traerbach had surrendered, and he then returned to England to reap the well-deserved reward of public applause. He was thanked by both houses of parliament. The trophies of the victory were paraded from the Tower to Westminster-hall, and through the Green park, that the queen, from one of the palace windows, might behold them. England had seen no such triumph since the defeat of the Armada. The city gave the victorious general a splendid entertainment; the commons presented an address soliciting that means might be taken for perpetuating the memory of his services; the crown lands at Woodstock were conveyed to him and his heirs, and orders were given to erect a palace there at the royal expense, to be called the castle of Blenheim."

In the month of March, 1705, Marlborough again embarked for the continent. The proceedings of this year's campaign were unimportant, but in the opening of the next, by a movement upon Namur, he succeeded in provoking the French to risk a battle at Ramillies, in which he obtained a complete victory, and which was followed by the instant surrender of Louvain, Brussels, Mechlin, Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, and Dendermonde. We have pursued the train of political events in England under other heads. Our object in the present article is to exhibit Marlborough in that light in which he appears to greatest advantage, namely, as the leader of his country's forces in the field. On his return to England, Marlborough was received in a manner corresponding to the great and signal successes of the campaign; his title was extended to his daughters and their heirs male. It is observable that he was now no longer anxious to perpetuate the name of Churchill in his family, which he had formerly required his representatives in succession to assume. The honour and manor of Woodstock, and the house of Blenheim, were to descend with the title, and the sum of £5000 a year from the post-office was likewise entailed upon his daughters and their heirs male in perpetuity, being however confirmed to the dutchess for her life. The standards and colours taken at Ramillies were borne in procession from Whitehall, through the park and St James's, and so to Guildhall; it was a proud display, consisting of six and twenty standards and a hundred and twenty-six colours. Godolphin was raised to the peerage; several minor promotions among the whigs took place, and however averse she might have been to the measures which had been forced upon her, the queen found the advantage of having so materially strengthened the administration. Matters not less important than the business of war required Marlborough's attention while active operations were suspended. His influence was exerted in bringing about the great measure of the union, and 'it may be recorded as an answer,' says Mr Coxe, 'to the numberless accusations and surmises against the principles of Marlborough and Godolphin, that such a measure was accomplished by them in opposition to the efforts of a powerful combination of tories and Jacobites both in England and Scotland, and under a queen who not only detested the Hanover line, but who was beginning to turn with

renewed affection towards the surviving members of her unfortunate family.' He performed also a singular mission to the camp of Charles XII. at Sweden, whose movements at that time held all Germany and the north of Europe in suspense, and might easily have made the scale preponderate in favour of France, if he had been led either by the arts of that politic court, or by his own irritable temper (which needed little provocation) to fall upon the Austrians. His favourite scheme at this time was to form a protestant league. Prussia was already persuaded to the measure, Hanover was solicited, and Catholic Germany of course had taken the alarm. Marlborough succeeded in dissuading him from a scheme which would have proved destructive to the alliance; he succeeded also in adjusting or postponing his disputes with Austria and Denmark; he administered pensions, by the elector of Hanover's advice, to two of his ministers; and Charles, leaving the affairs of Europe to their course, removed his disturbing forces into Muscovy, and there wrecked his army, his fortunes, and himself.

The campaign of 1707 was less fruitful in important results than any that Marlborough had yet made. In all his operations he was cramped by the miserable vacillation and petty views of his associates. The campaign of 1708, in which he received more of the undivided assistance of Prince Eugene, was more brilliant. Amongst other important successes was the victory of Oudenard, and the capture of Lille, Bruges, and Ghent. Villars now took the command of the French forces in Flanders, and Louis expressed no small hopes of his favourite general, who had never been beat; but the siege of Tournay and the tremendous battle of Malplaquet, convinced the French monarch that his favourite was not invincible.

The death of Godolphin, the change of ministry, and the disgrace into which both himself and his dutchess fell with the queen, determined Marlborough to exile himself for a while on the continent. The dutchess attended him, and he was received with every mark of respect wherever he went. He maintained a correspondence, however, with the Hanoverian party during his absence from England, and had engaged to transport troops to England, if necessary, on the demise of the queen. The undisputed accession of George I rendered this precaution useless. That monarch restored Marlborough to his offices, but declined availing himself of his advice in the cabinet. He lived eight years after his return to England. In the year 1716 he had two attacks of paralysis, but he recovered from them so far as to be able to resume his public duties, and continue in the discharge of them, till within six months of his death, which took place on the 16th of June, 1722. His dutchess survived him two and twenty years.

Of Marlborough's consummate abilities as a general there can be no question. Some, indeed, have attempted to attribute his successes more to the injudicious dispositions of the enemy than to his own genius. We apprehend, however, that it is one of the highest attributes of military genius to be able to take instant advantage of the errors of an opponent. Nor can such reasoning be employed with respect to some of the most brilliant of Marlborough's victories. At Malplaquet, for example, his antagonist, one of the ablest generals of his age, had leisurely taken up a strong natural position, to which he had added all the defences of his art; yet with these, and with troops on the spot, and all engaged in the

action, amounting at least in numbers to those which Marlborough headed, was Villars utterly and signally defeated, after a dreadful conflict and carnage. Nor can we fairly account for the confidence with which Marlborough frequently looked forward to the issue of a contest, even before others had thought the action fairly begun; as, for example, at Oudenard, without admitting that Marlborough possessed the skill of consummate generalship as well as the fullest confidence in his troops. So entirely were his own troops persuaded of their general's skill and prudence, that they were accustomed to say amongst themselves, when brought into any apparent emergency, "Well, it is no matter to us, Corporal John will find some way to bring us off, and do for the enemy." Next to the political profligacy which marked his outset in life, the greatest blot which rests on the character of Marlborough is his avarice. The love of money was his ruling passion, especially in the decline of life, and it had nothing fantastical or assumed in it, it was downright miserable penuriousness. "In his last decline at Bath," says Spence, "he (the duke) was playing with Dean Jones at piquet for sixpence a game. They played a good while, and the duke left off when winner of one game. Some time after he desired the dean to pay him his sixpence. The dean said he had no silver. The duke asked him for it over and over, and at last desired that he would change a guinea to pay it him, because he should want it to pay the chair that carried him home. The dean, after so much pressing, did at last get change,—paid the duke his sixpence,—observed him a little after leave the room,—and declares that, after all the bustle that had been made for his sixpence, the duke actually walked home to save the little expense a chair would have put him to."[2] We find the same story in Dr King's 'Anecdotes,'[3] with the additional information, that the night on which the duke thus walked home to save his sixpence, was "a cold dark night."

Swift has said with considerable truth that to his dutchess the duke owed both his greatness and his fall. Sarah Jennings was altogether a singular being, made up of inconsistencies. She employed Hooke, the Roman historian, to write an apology for her life, which he did for £5000. It was published in 1742, under the title of 'An account of the conduct of the dowager dutchess of Marlborough, from her first coming to court to the year 1710, in a letter from herself to Lord ——.' It is a very amusing book. Towards the close of her life, after she had become bed-ridden, she kept writing materials constantly beside her, and was in the habit of noting down whatever whims came into her head. These loose papers came into the hands of Lord Hailes, who, in 1788, published a selection from them under the title of 'The opinions of Sarah, dutchess of Marlborough.' They are the effusions of a capricious, arrogant, violent-tempered old lady in her dotage. She died on the 18th of October, 1744.

[2] Anecdotes, &c. London, 1820. [3] London, 1819.

Charles Lenox, Duke of Richmond.

BORN A. D. 1672.—DIED A. D. 1723.

CHARLES LENOX, duke of Richmond, Lenox, and Aubigny, was a natural son of Charles II., by Louise Renee, created dutchess of Portsmouth. By the death of Charles Stewart, duke of Richmond and Lenox, the titles of the ancient and noble house of Lenox had merged in the crown: his majesty bestowed both the estate and titles on this illegitimate son, and created him duke of Richmond while yet an infant of three years of age.

In 1681 he was elected a knight-companion of the garter; and, on the removal of the duke of Monmouth, he was appointed master of the horse. In the reign of King William his grace served in Flanders; he was also one of the lords of the bed-chamber to George I.

He died in 1723. Macky, in his "Characters of the Court of Great Britain," says of the duke of Richmond, "he is a gentleman good-natured to a fault, very well-bred, and hath many valuable things in him; he is an enemy to business, very credulous, well-shaped, dark complexion, and a good deal like his father."

Charles, Earl of Sunderland.

BORN A. D. 1674.—DIED A. D. 1722.

THIS nobleman was born in the year 1674. He entered into public life at an early age, being returned member for Tiverton in 1695. He continued to represent that borough until he was called to the house of peers, on the death of his father in 1702. In 1705 he was diplomatically employed at the courts of Berlin, Vienna, and Hanover. In April, 1706, he was nominated one of the commissioners to treat for a union with Scotland; and, at the latter end of the year, he was not only made a privy-councillor, but, according to Archdeacon Coxe, the whig-leaders perceiving that the queen favoured the tories, he was forced by them into the office of secretary of state.

In 1709-10, on account of the conduct of Sunderland, with regard to Sacheverell and his supporters, the whole influence of the high church party was exercised to procure his dismissal from office. The duke o Marlborough, on the other hand, wrote very warmly to the queen in his favour; and the haughty dutchess 'begged on her knees' that the queen would not compel him to retire; with this request, although very powerfully seconded by a number of influential noblemen, her majesty refused to comply, and Sunderland was almost immediately commanded to deliver up his seals. To soften the harshness of her conduct towards the earl, Queen Anne offered him a pension of £3000 per annum for life; which, however, he indignantly rejected; observing that "He was glad her majesty was satisfied he had done his duty; but if he could not have the honour to serve his country, he would not plunder it."

On the death of Queen Anne, Sunderland, who was accounted the

great leader of the whigs, expected, in return for the zeal he had displayed in behalf of the house of Hanover, to be placed at the head of the new administration. But, although the king treated him with great attention, and several places of dignity were conferred on him, some years elapsed before he could attain the exalted station to which he aspired. Shortly after George I. arrived in the country, the earl was sworn a privy-councillor, and appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. In 1715, ill health having compelled him to resign his vice-regal office, he was constituted lord-privy seal; and, in July 1716, he became vice-treasurer of Ireland, having previously enjoyed that office jointly with Lord Rochester, from the month of February in the same year. In September he went to Hanover with the king, with whom his influence now rapidly increased. In April, 1717 he achieved a political victory over Walpole and Townshend, on whose resignation he was appointed, in the first place, chief secretary of state,—shortly afterwards lord-president of the council,—and finally, first lord of the treasury.

At this period, Sunderland, in whose person the whole power of government seemed to be united, brought forward the celebrated peerage bill, by the passing of which he hoped to check the authority of the prince of Wales—whom the earl had offended beyond the possibility of forgiveness—when his royal highness should become king; and to extend the duration of his own authority by the elevation of a number of his adherents to the house of lords. This unpopular bill was passed by the peers, but rejected by the commons, principally through the exertions of Walpole

In 1718–19 he resigned the presidency of the council; but was, on the same day, appointed groom of the stole and first gentleman of the bed-chamber. In May, 1719, he was nominated one of the lords-justices, to whom the government was intrusted during the king's visit to Hanover. Walpole and Townshend had, by this time, become so formidable to the earl, that he deemed it expedient to divide his power, and partially coalesce with them. About the end of October in this year, 1719, he went to Hanover; in the following month he was elected a knight of the garter; in June, 1720, he was again nominated a member of the regency during the king's absence in Hanover; and, in September, he repeated his visit to the electorate.

The year 1721 was rendered remarkable by the celebrated South sea bubble, the bursting of which proved fatal to the political supremacy of Sunderland. Notwithstanding his exalted station—for he was still first minister of the crown—he was strongly suspected of having taken a guilty part in that nefarious scheme; and a parliamentary inquiry, as to his alleged mal-practices, took place; which, however, owing to the zeal and talent with which he was defended by Walpole, terminated in his acquittal; but the public were so fully convinced of his guilt, that he found it necessary to resign all his employments. This event was followed by the re-establishment of Townshend and Walpole; "yet it was not without great difficulty," says Coxe, "that Sunderland, who maintained the most unbounded influence over the sovereign, had been induced, or rather compelled, to consent to the arrangement for a new ministry, and particularly to relinquish the disposal of the secret service-money.

His conduct at this period was involved in suspicious mystery. He intrigued with the tories, although he did not dare openly to avow any connexion with them. He made overtures to Bishop Atterbury, and his health was frequently drunk by the Jacobites. He continued, on many occasions, successfully to use his influence over the king,—fomented divisions in the cabinet,—and carried several measures in direct opposition to its chiefs. "Walpole's merit," says Coxe, "in screening Sunderland from the rage of the house of commons, could not expiate the crime of superseding him at the head of the treasury. Sunderland, jealous of his growing power, resolved, if possible, again to obtain his dismission. Under the semblance of favour, he requested the king to create him postmaster-general for life,—a lucrative office, which, if he had received, would have incapacitated him for a seat in parliament; and, if he refused, would subject him to the resentment of his sovereign. Contrary, however, to his expectations, the king inquired if Walpole had desired it, or was acquainted with it. Sunderland replied in the negative. 'Then,' returned the king, 'do not make him the offer: I parted with him once against my inclination, and I will never part with him again as long as he is willing to serve me.'" Soon afterwards, on the 19th of April, 1722, death terminated the earl's machinations against his rival

The earl of Sunderland was thrice married; first, on the 12th of January, 1694–5, to Lady Arabella, youngest daughter of the duke of Newcastle, by whom he had a daughter, and who died, June 4th, 1698, next, in January, 1700, to Anne, the second daughter of the duke of Marlborough, by whom he had four sons and two daughters, and who died, April 15th, 1716,—and, lastly, on the 5th of December, 1717, to Miss Judith Tichborne, a lady of large fortune, and of an ancient Irish family, by whom he had three children, and who survived him many years.

His spirit was daring, and his intellect unquestionably great. Of patriotism or probity, he appears to have had but a very moderate share. Personal aggrandizement was the one great object of his life. He was at all times willing to abandon the principles he had last professed, —to be a whig, a tory, or downright Jacobite,—to sacrifice a friend, or coalesce with an enemy, for the purpose of advancing or securing his own political power.

Henry Sacheverell.

DIED A. D. 1724.

THIS vehement champion of our venerable establishment was the son of one Joshua Sacheverell of Marlborough, clerk, and afterwards —so one account states—rector of St Peter's church in that town. This gentleman had a large family, with very little to support them, and his son Henry was indebted for his education to a worthy apothecary of the name of Hearst, who, having stood godfather to him, was charitable enough to take him under his protection. After the death of his patron he was sent by the widow to Magdalene college, Oxford, where he managed, in some way or other, to procure a fellowship; and, in the

capacity of tutor, had the honour of educating several men, who subsequently rose to considerable eminence. It is a curious circumstance that Joseph Addison was, while at college, his chamber-fellow and intimate friend, and that Addison's account of the greatest English poets is dedicated to him. Unless Sacheverell's character subsequently underwent a complete change, there must be something more than a mere metaphysical division in what metaphysicians call the association of contrast, for assuredly there could not readily be picked out more complete diversities of character than are presented by the calm, retiring, elegant, and accomplished scholar on the one side, and the noisy, roistering, arrogant, thick-headed bigot on the other. He is said by some to have acted with the utmost ingratitude to his friends at Marlborough, and to have conducted himself turbulently; but these circumstances, however consonant with the character of the man, have not been sufficiently attested. That he cultivated poetry is perhaps much less credible; but we have still extant some undoubted productions of his muse; and in the 'Musæ Anglicanæ' there may be found one from his pen on the death of Queen Mary, which is not altogether destitute of merit. He proceeded slowly through the degrees of M. A. and B. D., to that of D. D., which he obtained in 1708. His first piece of preferment was to Cannock or Cank, in Staffordshire; and not long afterwards he was appointed preacher to St Saviour's church, Southwark. We gather from Burnet, that, for several years before this time, he had been in the habit of delivering violent, high-flown sermons, in the hope of attracting attention, but had hitherto failed. The time was now come when his works of faith and labours of love were to meet their reward. His two famous sermons were preached in 1709; one at Derby, in August, and the other at St Paul's before the lord-mayor and corporation, on the 5th of November. Though the court of aldermen were so disgusted with his sermon, that they did not even pay him the compliment of a vote of thanks, he had the courage to print it, with the sanction, privately given, of the lord-mayor; and, in consequence, this precious piece of nonsense has been preserved to modern times. His text he finds in St Paul's words,—"Perils from false friends." The main drift of his sermon is to point out the existing ministry—which, it will be remembered, had been remodelled, in the preceding years, by an admission of some of the old and liberal whigs—as these false friends; to hold them up as the most ruinous enemies of the church, and to animate all classes in a struggle against them. In the course of his tirade he defends most manfully the doctrine of non-resistance,—declares the late revolution was not resistance,—and reviles the dissenters as a nest of vipers, to whom no mercy should be shown. In rapidly running over the sermon, we selected the following passages as specimens of this worthy's spirit:—"The grand security of our government, and the very pillar upon which it stands, is founded on a steady belief of the subjects' *absolute and unconditional obedience* to the supreme power in all things lawful, and the utter illegality of resistance on any pretence whatsoever." * * * * In another part he calls those who maintain a right of resistance, "filthy dreamers,—presumptuous, self-willed men,—despisers of dominion and government,—who are not afraid to speak evil of dignities, and wrest the word of God to their own and their deluded people's perdition,—and think to

consecrate even the worst of sins, with what is almost analogous to the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost." * * * * "If the dissenters had lived in the time of St Paul, they would have branded him as an intemperate, hot, furious zealot, that wanted to be sweetened by the gentle spirit of charity and moderation, forsooth. Schism and faction are things of impudent and encroaching nature; they thrive upon concession,—take permission for power,—advance a toleration immediately into an establishment,—and are, therefore, to be treated like growing mischiefs or infectious plagues, kept at a distance, lest that deadly contagion spread. Let us, therefore, have no fellowship with these works of darkness, but rather reprove them. Let our superior pastors do their duty, and thunder out their heaviest anathemas, and let any power on earth dare reverse the sentence ratified in heaven." Outrageous as this sermon was, it could not have done much harm even in the excited state of the people, if it had been suffered to pass unnoticed; but unfortunately the ministry, at the earnest request of Lord Godolphin, who thought himself especially pointed at under the name of Volpone, resolved to impeach the Doctor at the bar of the house. It is said that Somers, Marlborough, Eyre the solicitor-general, and others, wished the Doctor to be tried before the common tribunals of the country; "but this wise advice was overruled, and," says Burnet, "unhappily, the more solemn way chosen." While preparations were making for his trial, his friends were most active in his favour, or rather, we should say, the crafty politicians who made him their tool, were energetically pushing forward their designs The clergy almost generally espoused his cause. Reports were circulated, that the intention of the whigs was to destroy the church, and that this prosecution was set on foot only to try their strength. The Doctor conducted himself with the utmost boldness, disdaining to make the slightest acknowledgment of error. The trial began on the 27th of February in Westminster-hall, and continued for three weeks. It may be regarded as a party struggle, in which the doctrines of the contending factions were fairly brought into contrast; and without at all offending the ears of our modern tories, we may safely say that the triumph of the whigs in argument was complete. The charge brought against Sacheverell was, that he had been guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours, and the main proof of the charge was drawn from his vehement tirades against the right of resistance,—the act for occasional conformity,—the toleration of dissenters,—and from his implied censure of the recent Revolution. The managers appointed by the commons to conduct the prosecution, among whom were Sir Joseph Tekyl, Sir Peter King, and the celebrated Robert Walpole, urged forward these charges by asserting the right of resistance, and by rescuing the Revolution from the opprobrium which had been thrown on it. Several of the speeches made were masterly productions, and will be found to this day among the best and clearest statements of the true foundation of all government. On the other side Sir Simon Harcourt, Mr Phipps, and Sacheverell himself, assisted by Atterbury and Friend, surrounded by the queen's chaplains, and cheered on by the blind zeal of the rabble, made a bold and skilful defence. They asserted that the doctrine of non-resistance was a doctrine strenuously inculcated by the church of England, and proved their assertion triumphantly by instancing a vast number of homilies

and sermons by the most eminent of its prelates, and by others of its superior clergy. Their defence was undoubtedly a good one; for never, since the world began, was the right divine, with all its mischievous inferences, asserted more explicitly than by the church of England in this and the preceding reigns. All parties having been heard, the upper house debated whether the commons had established their articles of impeachment; and after a long and fiery discussion, in which the earl of Wharton, and Burnet the bishop of Salisbury, especially distinguished themselves, it was agreed, though only by a very narrow majority, that Sacheverell was guilty. He was condemned to be suspended from his office for the space of three years,—to be incapable of any preferment during that period,—and to have both his sermons burnt by the common hangman. The lenity of this sentence was regarded by the tories as a high triumph, and most uproarious rejoicings on the occasion were made throughout the country. "The church and Dr Sacheverell"—*par nobile fratrum*—were invariably coupled together, and the great mass of the population looked on this contemptible mountebank as the prime ornament of the episcopal church. During the trial multitudes had followed him on his progress to Westminster-hall every morning,—kissing his hand,—showering blessings on his sacred head,—and alternately breathing prayers for his deliverance, and yelling forth good round oaths against his accusers. Who does not admire the piety of a church-and-king mob?

We have already said that Sacheverell was a mere tool in the hands of others. The reason why so many men of unquestioned sense and parts had advocated Sacheverell's innocence soon became apparent. For several years the tory party had been pressing onward to the possession of political power by all the little, dirty paths of corruption and intrigue; and at length, through the magnanimous assistance of a mountebank and a waiting-maid, their leader Harley grasped the premiership. We know it has been denied that Sacheverell was instrumental in producing this change of affairs, and we do not wonder at the denial, for the very idea of profiting from such a dunghill source must have been gall and wormwood to a haughty man like Bolingbroke. It is, however, apparent, beyond a possibility of mistake, that the Doctor's famous sermons, and the political feelings excited by them, were mainly influential in resolving the queen to change her counsellors.[1]

In the mean time Sacheverell, in order to wile away the dull hours of his suspension, made a tour through the country, which the zeal of the people converted into a sort of triumphal progress. In almost every part of the kingdom he was received with a clamorous veneration, which would have seemed ludicrous, even in his own eyes, if he had not been devoured by the most egregious vanity. The testimony of a contemporary will give the best idea of the scene. Cunningham says, "Dr Sacheverell, making a progress round the country, was looked upon as another Hercules for the church-militant. Wherever he went, his emissaries were sent before with his pictures; pompous entertainments

[1] Swift, in his Journal to Stella, says of Sacheverell, "he hates the new ministry mortally, and they hate him, and pretend to despise him too. They will not allow him to have been the occasion of the late change,—at least, some of them will not; but my lord-keeper owned it to me the other day."

were made for him; and a mixed multitude of country-singers, fiddlers, priests, and sextons, and a mob of all conditions, male and female, crowded together to meet and congratulate him; among whom drunkenness, darkness, and a furious zeal for religion extinguished all regard to modesty." This extravagance was too gross to continue long; and, in the end, the Doctor became as ridiculous in the eyes of the people as he had formerly been glorious. On threatening to visit Ely they declared that if he entered the town he should be stoned. Finding a similar spirit in other places, this champion of the church, whose reverence for the martyrs' crown was so profound that he took care to keep at the utmost possible distance from it, returned quietly to London. As soon as the term of his suspension had expired, the queen, who, it is said, had always been favourable to him, presented him to the living of St Andrews, Holborn; and shortly afterwards he had the honour of delivering to the house of commons a sermon, for which he received their thanks. About the same time a considerable estate was left to him by one of his relations. In 1716 he prefixed a dedication to a copy of sermons preached by one W. Adams, M. A. After this period little more is known of him, except from quarrels with his parishioners. He died on the 5th of June, 1724, bequeathing, by his will, £500 to Atterbury, who was at that time in exile.

The character of this worthy has been too fully elucidated by his life to require any comments upon it here. He occupies a prominent place in the history of Queen Anne's reign, and he certainly did much to secure the triumph of the tory party; but he is only the base tool of more cunning heads,—the Captain Bobadil of the play; and the very men who profited by him were ashamed of using him. It should not be forgotten that rats may uproot houses, and that pismires are sometimes dangerous. The dutchess of Marlborough calls him "an ignorant, impudent incendiary,—a man who was the scorn even of those who made use of him as a tool;" and Burnet says, with less warmth but equal truth, that he was "bold and insolent, with a very small measure of religion, learning, virtue, or good sense; but he resolved to force himself into popularity and preferment by the most petulant railing at dissenters and low-churchmen, in several sermons and libels wrote without either chasteness of style or liveliness of expression: all was an unpractised strain of indecent and scurrilous language."

Harley, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer.

BORN A. D. 1661.—DIED A. D. 1724

ROBERT HARLEY, earl of Oxford and Mortimer, was the eldest son of Sir Edward Harley, and was born in Bow-street, Covent-garden, London, on the fifth of December, 1661. His original destination was for the army; but the early developement of his talents, and the evident leaning of his mind to civil rather than to military life, occasioned this design to be abandoned. He received an excellent education from a clergyman named Birch, who resided near Burford in Oxfordshire, and whose name has been rescued from oblivion by the celebrity of

many of his pupils.[1] Harley's first step in public life was at the Revolution, when, in conjunction with his father, he raised a troop of horse, and joined the prince of Orange soon after his landing. In 1690, he entered the house of commons as member for the borough of Tregony. Having been educated in whig principles, and his family being presbyterian, he naturally joined the Revolution party; but becoming discontented with William's government, either through the influence of Marlborough, with whom he had contracted a friendship, or because he thought a junction with the opposite party most likely to forward his own ambitious views, it was not long before he ranked himself among the tories. His talents and address in debating soon attracted the attention of the house; so that, in 1694, he was appointed to bring in a bill for the more frequent summoning of parliaments, and his task was so well executed, that the bill passed through both houses without any amendment. Such great confidence did the house place in his ability, that, in 1701, on the meeting of the fifth parliament of King William, he was chosen speaker; and no man, we are told, filled the chair with greater ability. A speaker in those times was not tied down by the restraints which modern etiquette has imposed. Harley continued to take as active a part in the contentions of parties as he had done when out of office. Shortly after the meeting of parliament, the memorable act of settlement was introduced; and although the tories could not openly resist the passing of a measure, so loudly demanded by the circumstances of the times, and by the concurrent wishes of the king and the people, they used every method to impede its progress. The speaker, who was in reality devoted to the tory party, though with his usual trimming policy he endeavoured to win the favour of their opponents, used all the acts which he could invent to throw the bill aside. Among other methods of procrastination, he advised, that as "the haste the nation was in when the present government was settled, had made us overlook many securities which might have prevented much mischief," the future sovereign should be bound down by certain conditions, which should effectually secure the liberties of the people. Harley's advice was good in itself, though given with a bad intention, and fortunately it did not serve the end proposed. The bill was carried along with the restrictions of the regal power; and thus it happened, that the very men who made a boast of their unswerving attachment to the throne and to all its prerogatives, became, by their own factious measures, the instruments of confining the sovereignty within smaller limits than had ever been known before. In 1704 he was appointed to the office of secretary of state. It will be recollected that Marlborough and Godolphin—the ministers under whom he accepted office—were just at this period paving the way for an alliance with their ancient enemies the whigs; and they probably thought that Harley, who was bound to Marlborough by no common ties of gratitude, and whom they rightly believed to have no higher principle than themselves, would change along with them, and devote his talents to their support. But they knew not the subtle treachery of the serpent whom they fostered in their bosoms. He still kept up his correspondence with the tories,

[1] Besides Harley, this gentleman had educated Harcourt, lord-chancellor; Trevor, lord-chief-justice of the common pleas, and ten members of parliament,—all of whom flourished at the same time.

and he had not long taken his seat at the council-board, before it was found that his influence with the queen was greater than that of any other of her advisers. The famous Mrs Masham, at first the minion but now the rival of the dutchess of Marlborough, had acquired a complete ascendancy over the queen, and Harley insinuated himself so successfully into her good graces, that she employed all her influence in exalting him in the queen's favour, and depreciating the other ministers. Through this despicable channel he maintained a clandestine communication with his sovereign, and by flattering her with high notions of the prerogative, which he represented Marlborough and Godolphin as anxious to reduce, he managed to wean her from her old and long-tried friends, whose counsels had given her reign a brilliancy scarcely rivalled in the brightest periods of our history. It is one of the most nauseating proofs of Harley's dissimulation, that at this very time when he was using his utmost efforts to undermine his patrons, he made in letters, which are still preserved,[2] most earnest professions of his sincere and unalterable attachment to their interests. But such gross duplicity could not long elude Godolphin's shrewdness; and, in 1708, he and Marlborough demanded Harley's dismissal, threatening to resign office if their demand was refused. Anne for a long time resisted their proposal, and would probably have parted with them both, rather than have lost her favourite, had not the wily politician, whose designs were not yet fully ripe, offered of his own accord to resign, and "bowing low his grey dissimulation" to the storm, retired from office along with his followers. He still continued to enjoy the entire confidence of Anne, who took no step without consulting him, and by dint of intrigues in private and plausible speeches in public,—by cajoling some of the leaders of his opponents into a desertion of their party,—by instilling into the tories the belief that the ministers were wholly devoted to the whigs, and into the whigs the suspicion that they were about to make peace with the tories,—he succeeded in sapping the stability of the administration. Their overthrow was hastened by their foolish impeachment of Dr Sacheverell, for the bedlamite nonsense which that worthy had poured forth from the pulpit. Harley's conduct on this occasion seems to have been a model of duplicity. In his speech on Sacheverell's impeachment, "he made use," says Cunningham, "of such a circumgyration of incoherent words as he had before condemned in Sacheverell, so that they could not discover, from his expressions, whether he spoke for him or against him." The tremendous outburst of high-church zeal, which was elicited by this famous trial, gave assurance to the queen and her friends that the time was now come for the development of their designs. Accordingly Godolphin and his party were summarily dismissed,—the treasury was put in commission,—St John was made secretary of state,—and Harley chancellor of the exchequer. The triumph of the tories was completed by the general election which took place shortly afterwards; and Burnet informs us that the court made use of such arbitrary and unconstitutional means to procure favourable returns as had never been known before, and the success of their machinations was evidenced by the assembly of a parliament, three-fourths of which were so furiously loyal, that they looked

[2] Vide the Hardwicke State Papers

to a foreign court for their legitimate prince, and so religious, that they were bent on imposing pains and penalties on freedom of conscience. So zealous were they for their principles, that the moderation, or rather the trimming policy of the new minister, awakened their dislike, and it is probable that he would have been speedily abandoned by his friends, had it not been for one of those extraordinary accidents which take captive as it were the sympathies of men. An attempt, which narrowly failed of success, was made upon his life by a French adventurer, the Marquess de Guiscard, who had been summoned to undergo an examination on the charge of a treasonable correspondence with the French court. The daring nature of the attempt,—the dangerous wounds which Harley received,—and the courage with which he behaved, worked miracles for his popularity. On his return to the house of commons he was congratulated by the speaker in the name of the whole house; and so strong was the reaction in his favour, that when he brought forward his financial scheme, it was received with almost universal applause, although the main features of it, the establishment of a South sea company, and of lotteries, were strongly and deservedly condemned by some of his colleagues in office. In 1711 he was created a peer by the titles of earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and was shortly afterwards advanced to the post of lord-high-treasurer. His power now seemed to be settled on a firm basis, especially as he saw and acted on the necessity of complying with the favourite project of the tories for the oppression of the dissenters. There are persons who ascribe to Harley great merit for the favour which, in those intolerant times, he showed to the nonconformists; but to such it is a sufficient answer to point to his conduct, in allowing to pass without one word of opposition, nay even with his sanction, the infamous "act for preserving the protestant religion," &c. by which dissenters were to be excluded in future from all civil employments, and no person in office was to be allowed to enter a conventicle under pain of severe penalties. But the great measure by which his administration was distinguished was the peace of Utrecht. We are not disposed to award to Harley the slightest merit for this famous treaty, since we believe his motives in it to have been any thing rather than patriotic; nevertheless, we think that the peace was on the whole decidedly beneficial to this country. It is true that the nation gained nothing to compensate for the danger and expense it had undergone; it had made a costly sacrifice of blood and treasure to no end; and the empty glory of Blenheim and Ramillies was the sole fruit of a ten years' war; but inglorious as it was, and disgraceful to the ministers who secured no more advantageous terms, it was better than continued hostility. By effecting a peace, he completely vanquished the designs of the whigs, and might have consolidated his power, could he have prevented internal dissension. His colleague Bolingbroke was, however, of too high a temper, and too conscious of his own abilities, to endure a superior, and the cabinet became one constant scene of contention. Among other methods which he took to injure his rival, Bolingbroke did not forget the ladder by which the lord-treasurer had risen; and Mrs Masham, destined to be the tool of intriguing statesmen, was ready to forward his views. It is pleasant to find Harley caught in the pit which he had himself dug. Finding that his rival had obtained the confidence of the queen, he

drew up and presented to her a memorial containing an account of his whole administration, and exposing the ambitious designs of his rival. It was now his turn to find the truth of the lesson,—"Put not your trust in princes." Anne received his memorial coldly, which so enraged him, that he made overtures to the whig party; but here again he met with an ungracious reception. At length on the 27th of July, 1714, he was dismissed from his office; but his rival did not enjoy the fruits of his machinations, for within three days afterwards the queen expired; and the change which followed was so complete, that dreams of power were driven from the minds of the ex-statesmen by the necessity of devising plans for safety. The whigs had been so thoroughly exasperated by Harley's treachery, that after the accession of George the First they impeached him of high treason, and he was in consequence committed to the Tower, where he lay for two years. It would be unfair not to give Harley high praise for the courage with which he met the accusations brought against him. While his rival Bolingbroke fled in dismay from the threatened impeachment, he staid manfully to breast the storm, and his constancy was rewarded by a complete acquittal in 1717. After this time he retired into the country, and gave himself up to the literary pursuits which he had never wholly abandoned,—to the study of the fine arts,—and to the collection of that noble library, which, far more than his political career, has made his name European. In the society of Pope and other eminent men, with whom he had always lived in the closest intimacy, he was perhaps happier than in the most brilliant part of his political career, and the lonely student employed in high converse with the mighty dead, probably looked back without a sigh to the splendid miseries of a court. He expired on the 21st of May, 1724, and was buried in the tomb of his ancestors at Brampton-Brian.

Though the sketch which we have here given of Harley's career is necessarily brief and imperfect, it displays his conduct in a light sufficiently strong to make any remarks on his character almost superfluous. Yet such enthusiastic encomiums have been showered upon him by writers whose names are identified with some of the brightest parts of our literary history, that a few observations will not be out of place. Among the warmest of his panegyrists is Pope, who, in his epistle to him on the death of Parnell, addresses him in the following high-flown language:—

> "And sure if aught below the seats divine
> Can touch immortals, 'tis a soul like thine;
> A soul supreme in each hard instance tried,
> Above all pain, all passion, and all pride,
> The rage of power, the blast of public breath,
> The lust of lucre, and the dread of death."

Never was praise more beautiful and more unjust. The sole attribute of a great mind which Harley possessed, was ambition. The love of power had taken such firm hold on his mind, that to obtain it he sacrificed friends, reputation, fame, peace of conscience, every thing which a wise or honourable man would most esteem; and yet when the glittering prize was in his grasp, he had neither skill to bear it worthily nor to retain it. There are some men who advance right onwards, with open

unhesitating steps to the attainment of the object they have in view, seeming rather to descend upon than to rise to it; and there are others who crawl along the ground towards their mark, advancing here a little, and there a little, and working their way through any dirty track that opens before them. To this latter class Harley belonged. The only talent which he possessed in any perfection was dissimulation, and in that he was unrivalled. Great at a promise, incomparable in an intrigue, he esteemed no device too base, no stratagem too contemptible, which advanced him one step nearer to his object. Pampering the mischievous prejudices of a weak-minded sovereign,—relieving the wants, and flattering the vanity of a waiting woman, that he might secure her influence with her mistress,—cajoling every party by professions of attachment to their interests,—falsifying any promise, and violating any engagement, which it was inconvenient to keep,—betraying all enemies, and all friends equally,—and veiling his trimming policy under the specious name of moderation, he crept by a tortuous and shameful path to the summit of power. To overthrow his patrons, he made a promise of his support to the court at St Germains, and to injure his rival, he bound himself with equal readiness to uphold the Hanoverian succession. His devices succeeded in blinding men's eyes, when he was out of power, and it was impossible that the value of his professions should be put to the test; but when the time came for action, and it was found that nothing was to be performed, all saw through and despised him. Had he, even after his accession to supreme power, adopted any one determined and straightforward course of policy, however flagitious, he might, in spite of the contempt excited by the dirty machinations which he had followed to secure his elevation, have rescued himself from the scorn of posterity, by rising to the bad eminence of its hatred; but the duplicity of the factious intriguer for place characterized the prime minister, and made it impossible not to despise him. So undecided and inconsistent was he in all his actions, as almost to dispose us to join in the bitter sarcasm of Bolingbroke, that he was "a man of whom nature had intended to make a spy, or at most a captain of miners, and whom fortune in one of her whimsical moods had made a general." Of him might be truly predicted, what was said of a great man in ancient times, "In rebus politicis, nihil simplex, nihil apertum, nihil sincerum." Without decision enough to adopt one single bold measure,—without the talent requisite to make him formidable, where his character was known,—without honesty sufficient to derive dignity from any other source than the splendours of office, he met the usual fate of time-servers; and after finding himself detested by his colleagues, distrusted by his friends, despised by his enemies, and shunned by all, closed an inglorious career by a contumelious dismissal from the council of his sovereign.

It is pleasing to have to add that Harley's private character was one of spotless integrity. And let it ever be remembered to his honour, that, amidst all the storms of faction, he was the unvarying friend of learning and learned men. The praises of Pope and Defoe were showered upon him with no sparing hands; and although they cannot be permitted to affect our opinion of his public conduct, they present some relief to the darker parts of his character. He was himself a man of great literary attainments, and so devoted to study, that it is

said, he could in an instant lay his hand on any book, even the most insignificant in his magnificent library, though it contained not fewer than 100,000 volumes. The services which he rendered to literature by the collection of this splendid repository of learning, and of his invaluable manuscripts, which now form the prime ornament of our great national museum, ought to be held in long and grateful remembrance. During the time that he was in the house of commons, he gained considerable celebrity as a skilful debater. His speaking is described by his friends, as exhibiting more of art, than the native grace of an original orator; and by his enemies as pedantic, and inelegant, trifling on matters of importance, and important on trifles, and constantly employing words to mystify rather than to explain. The pamphlets which he published certainly do not indicate any thing like high talent, though written with considerable dexterity. The published productions ascribed to him by Horace Walpole in his catalogue of royal and noble authors, are the following:—'An Essay upon Public Credit,' published in 1710, and reprinted in the 'Somers' collection of tracts,' vol. 2d. 'An Essay upon Loans,' Somers' collection, vol. 2d. 'A Vindication of the Rights of the Commons of England,' to be found in Somers' second collection, vol. 4th. And some familiar Verses, published in Swift's Letters, vol. 1. 1766.

Thomas Guy.

BORN A. D. 1645.—DIED A. D. 1724.

Thomas Guy, the amiable friend of the poor and unfortunate, and founder of the noble hospital which bears his name, was the son of a lighterman and coal-dealer, and was born in Horsleydown, Southwark, in 1645. He was apprenticed to a bookseller in Cheapside, and having been admitted a freeman of the Stationers' company in 1668, was received into their livery in 1673. He began business with a stock of about £200, in the house which, till lately, formed the angle between Cornhill and Lombard-street, but which has been pulled down for the improvements now making in that neighbourhood. His first success was owing to the great demand for English bibles printed in Holland, in which he dealt largely; but on the importation of these being stopped by law, he contracted with the university of Oxford for the privilege of printing bibles; and having furnished himself with types from Holland, carried on this branch of business for many years with great profit.

But whatever foundation he might have laid for his future wealth in the usual course of trade, no small portion of his property arose from his purchase of seamen's tickets. These he bought at a large discount, and afterwards subscribed in the South sea company, which was established in 1710, for the purpose of discharging those tickets and giving a large interest. Here Mr Guy was so extensively, as well as cautiously concerned, that in 1720 he was possessed of £45,500 stock, by disposing of which when it bore an extremely advanced price, he realized a considerable sum. While we are compelled, in this sketch of Mr Guy's life, to associate his name with one of the most infamous transactions in

the commercial history of our country, it is due to his memory, as well as to the cause of christian charity, to add, that no dishonourable imputation ever attached to him on this score. To his relations he was attentive while he lived; and his actions prove that he did not hoard up his means until they could no longer be of use to himself. The munificent founder of Guy's hospital was a man of very humble appearance, and of a melancholy cast of countenance. One day, while pensively leaning over one of the bridges, he attracted the attention and commiseration of a bystander, who, apprehensive that he meditated self-destruction, could not refrain from addressing him with an earnest entreaty not to let his misfortunes tempt him to commit any rash act; then placing in his hand a guinea, with the delicacy of genuine benevolence, he hastily withdrew. Guy, roused from his reverie, followed the stranger, and warmly expressed his gratitude, but assured him he was mistaken in supposing him to be either in distress of mind or of circumstances, making an earnest request to be favoured with the name of the good man, his intended benefactor. The address was given, and they parted. Some years after, Guy observing the name of his friend in the bankrupt list, hastened to his house; brought to his recollection their former interview; found, upon investigation, that no blame could be attached to him under his misfortunes; intimated his ability, and also his full intention to serve him; entered into immediate arrangements with his creditors, and finally re-established him in a business, which ever after prospered in his hands, and in the hands of his children's children, for many years, in Newgate-street.

His humane plan of founding an hospital having been matured, Guy, at the age of seventy-six, procured from the governors of St Thomas's hospital, Southwark, the lease of a large piece of ground for a term of 999 years, at a rent of £30 a year. Having cleared the space, which was then occupied by a number of good dwelling-houses, he laid the first stone of his new building in 1722. He lived to see it covered in; but before the excellent machine had begun to work he was laid in the grave; for the hospital received within its walls the first patient on the 6th of January, 1725, and its founder died on the 27th of December, 1724. His trustees faithfully effected the completion of his great and good design, and procured an act of parliament for establishing the foundation, according to the directions of his will. Some of the wards are for surgical cases, one for accidents; the remainder are filled according to circumstances. It is estimated, that of about three thousand patients who enter in the course of the year—the present average of admissions—nine-tenths go out cured. Besides this, the hospital relieves upwards of fifty thousand out-patients. The means of usefulness, indeed, enjoyed by this admirable establishment, have lately admitted of an abundant increase by the munificent bequest of £196,000 made a few years since by Mr Hunt, a hundred inmates more being accommodated in consequence.

Viscount Molesworth.

BORN A. D. 1656.—DIED A. D. 1725.

THIS upright and accomplished statesman was descended from an old English family, but his father having served in the civil wars in Ireland, afterwards settled in Dublin as a merchant. His son, and only child, the subject of the present article, was born and educated in Dublin. Possessed of an ample patrimony, and connected by marriage with the earl of Bellamont, he soon entered into political life, and distinguished himself by his ardent zeal for the house of Orange. William rewarded his services by giving him the appointment of envoy-extraordinary to the court of Denmark, where he resided three years.

On his return home he published 'An account of Denmark,' in which he laboured to teach his countrymen the value of civil and religious freedom, by exhibiting the effects of despotic government in Denmark. The book was most favourably received by the English public, and was speedily translated into foreign languages. It received the high approbation of the author of the 'Characteristics,' who thus writes to Molesworth, many years after its publication: "You have long had my heart, even before I knew you personally For the holy and truly pious man who revealed the greatest of mysteries,—he who, with a truly generous love to mankind and his country, pointed out the state of Denmark to other states, and prophesied of things highly important to the growing age,—he, I say, had already gained me as his sworn friend before he was so kind as to make friendship reciprocal by his acquaintance and expressed esteem."

Molesworth served his country in both kingdoms, being chosen member of the Irish house of commons for the borough of Swordes; and of the English house for those of Bodmyn, St Michael, and East Retford. He was also a member of Anne's privy-council, until near the close of her majesty's reign, when he was found too liberal for the dominant party, and had excited the wrath of the lower house of convocation by his contemptuous treatment of that nest of bigots. Steele defended Molesworth in the 'Crisis,' and Swift assailed him in his pamphlet entitled 'Public Spirit of the Whigs. Dr William King had already laboured in his vocation to traduce the 'Account of Denmark.

George I. made Molesworth a member of his Irish privy-council in 1714, and two years afterwards advanced him to the Irish peerage by the title of Baron Philipstown and Viscount Molesworth of Swordes. He died in 1725. Besides the work already mentioned, Molesworth was the author of several political tracts, all breathing a large and liberal spirit, and written with force and elegance. In the printed correspondence of Locke and Molyneux, there are several letters which show the high respect these eminent men had for the viscount.

Sir Francis Hosier.

DIED A. D. 1727.

Francis Hosier became a lieutenant in the navy in the year 1692, and after serving in that station on board different ships for the space of four years, he was raised to the rank of captain, and appointed to the Winchelsea frigate of thirty-two guns. Though the service never boasted a more gallant or abler officer than this gentleman, yet misfortune appears to have attended him, on most occasions, through life. After a variety of uninteresting commands, he was, about the year 1710, appointed captain of the Salisbury, and being sent on a cruise off Cape Clear, in company with the St Albans, there experienced for the first time a gleam of success, by falling in with a French ship of war mounting sixty guns, which struck to the Salisbury after a smart action. Although Captain Hosier continued several years in commission subsequent to this time, yet no particular mention is made of him till 1719, when he was appointed second captain of the Dorsetshire, on board which the earl of Berkley had hoisted his flag in virtue of a special commission, Vice-admiral Littleton commanded as first captain, and Hosier as second, with the honorary rank of rear-admiral of the blue. On the 8th of May, 1720, he was advanced to be rear-admiral of the white, and served during the current year, as well as the succeeding, as second in command of the fleet sent under the orders of Sir John Norris into the Baltic. In 1722 he was appointed to act in the same capacity under Sir Charles Wager.

Public tranquillity remained in a great measure undisturbed for the space of four years after this cloud had passed over. The confederacy, which in 1726 was supposed, and indeed avowed to have been entered into between the Spanish and Russian courts, rendering it prudent in the eyes of the British ministry to despatch squadrons into different parts of the world, that destined for the West Indies, with the intention of overawing the Spaniards in that quarter, was put under the orders of Admiral Hosier, who hoisted his flag on board the Breda of seventy guns, and sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April. After a very tedious passage he arrived off the Bastimentos, near Porto-Bello, where he cruised for six months, until the naturally unwholesome climate, and the dreadful effects of that destructive malady the scurvy, at length compelled him to return to Jamaica, with scarcely men enough left to navigate the squadron back into port. Fortunately there chanced to be a considerable number of seamen at Jamaica who were out of employ, and the vice admiral was enabled to put to sea at the expiration of little more than two months, during which the ships of the squadron were as well refitted as circumstances would permit. From the time of his having quitted port, till the month of August ensuing, the British squadron, with the most undaunted perseverance, kept the sea. The conduct, however, which Hosier was compelled to observe towards the enemy, began to have a visible effect on his mind and health; he was restrained, by his orders, from acting offensively towards those who daily insulted him by the outrages they committed against his country-

men, and his pride felt itself wounded irrevocably by that enjoined apathy with which he was compelled to behold the insolent conduct of an arrogant and presuming enemy. He died at sea, as is most confidently reported, of mere chagrin, on the 23d of August, 1727. He was a few days before his death advanced to be vice-admiral of the white squadron, but he died ere the news of his promotion reached the West Indies. A commission was also sent out, empowering the governor of Jamaica to confer on him the honour of knighthood; which, it is believed, he received.

Russel, Earl of Orford.

BORN A. D. 1652.—DIED A. D 1727.

THIS celebrated character, better known, however, to the world under the name of Admiral Russel, than by the title which he acquired in the latter part of his life, was the son of Edward Russel, fourth son of Francis, earl of Bedford. His own disposition, and the wishes of his father, leading him to make choice of the sea as a profession, he entered into the naval service as a volunteer at a very early age. In the year 1680 he was raised to the rank of captain in the navy, and appointed to the Newcastle; but there is a complete chasm in his naval life from this time till after the Revolution had taken place, when he was, in reward for political services, appointed by King William admiral of the blue squadron.

In the year 1692, fortune, the ill stars of Louis XIV., and the extraordinary conduct of the Count de Tourville, threw that admiral into nearly the same situation into which Lord Torrington had been precipitated immediately previous to the battle off Beachy-head. "The force of the enemy has been variously represented, some asserting their number to have amounted to no more than forty-four sail of the line, while others, in their eagerness to diminish the disparity of strength, have augmented them to sixty-three. The former, however, appears to have been the proper statement. The division from Toulon, which would have raised the fleet up to the higher number, certainly had not joined. The combined fleets of England and the States sent forth to oppose this armament, amounted to no less than ninety-nine ships of the line. Against this mighty force the Count de Tourville having been hardy enough to make head, however rash the attempt might be, certainly displayed every noble trait of character that could adorn a great and noble commander. He contended the whole day, and at last made good his retreat, with the loss of not more than one ship in the encounter itself, which blew up by accident."

In 1694, Russel was invested with the station of first commissioner for executing the office of lord-high-admiral. The very commencement of naval operations proved inauspicious, but it were unfair to attach to Mr Russel the blame, naturally due somewhere, in consequence of the failure of the attack upon Brest, and the sacrifice of the brave General Talmash with the troops under his command. In his very ostensible situation of first commissioner for executing the office of lord-high admiral, he was accountable only for the advice he gave on the occasion,

the execution of the project having been committed to Lord Berkeley. The last service on which Russel was employed, as a naval commander, was the blockading of De Tourville in Toulon. In 1697, King William being about to embark for Holland, Russel was appointed one of the lords-justices for conducting the affairs of government during his absence, and was at the same time raised to the peerage by the titles of Baron Shingey, Viscount Barfleur, and Earl of Orford. The noble earl contented himself from this time with acting in a private station, so far as was compatible with his rank, influence, and fortune; that is to say, he took no part in the administration of public affairs till the 8th of November, 1709, when he accepted the station of first commissioner for executing the office of lord-high-admiral. On the removal of the earl of Godolphin about eleven months afterwards, his lordship again quitted the admiralty-board; but on the decease of the queen he became one of the lords-justices for managing public affairs, till the arrival of King George I. The new sovereign received him into the highest favour, appointed him one of his privy-council, and in a short time after his arrival reinstated him in his former honourable post at the admiralty-board. On the 16th of April, 1717, he finally quitted that situation, and also all further concern with public affairs. He died on the 26th of November, 1727.

Daniel De Foe.

BORN A. D. 1661.—DIED A. D. 1731.

DANIEL FOE, or De Foe as he chose afterwards to call himself, was born in the city of London in the year 1661. His parents were respectable dissenters, and placed their son to be educated at the dissenting academy of the Rev. Charles Morton at Newington Green. The tutors in these seminaries in De Foe's time were in general men of learning and abilities, yet it cannot be supposed that their pupils enjoyed advantages at all equal to those possessed by young men attending the universities. De Foe himself admits this; but claims for his master the praise of putting his pupils through a more rational course of study than that followed in most contemporary establishments, where—to use his own words—the masters "being careful to keep the knowledge of the tongues, tie down their pupils so exactly, and limit them so strictly, to perform every exercise, and to have all their readings in Latin or in Greek, that, at the end of the severest term of study, they come out unacquainted with English, though that is the tongue in which all their gifts are to shine." Morton acted upon another principle, and made it a prime business in his academy to instil a thorough acquaintance with their own tongue into the pupils; and De Foe assures us that more of them "excelled in this particular than of any school at that time. There were produced," he adds, "of ministers, Mr Timothy Cruso, Mr Hannot of Yarmouth, Mr Nathaniel Taylor, Mr Owen, and several others; and of another kind, poets, Samuel Wesley, Daniel De Foe, and two or three of your western martyrs, that, had they lived, would have been extraordinary men of their kind: viz. Kitt, Battersby, young Jenkins, Howling, and many more."

De Foe, though he got a good education, was brought up to trade by his parents; but he appears to have been fonder of writing books than selling hosiery. His first publication appeared in 1683. It was entitled, 'A Treatise against the Turks,' and was written in opposition to the prevailing sentiment of the day, which was in favour of the Ottoman power as opposed to that of Austria. In 1685 he got engaged in the duke of Monmouth's imprudent enterprise. The fate of that expedition probably damped the military ardour of the young aspirant after fame, but it formed an era in his life on which he seems to have looked back with peculiar satisfaction. In 1687 he published a tract, the object of which was to open the eyes of dissenters to the true nature of the insidious toleration with which James II. attempted to deceive them, and to mortify the leaders of the dominant religion. Up to this period occasional conformity had been practised by dissenters, who accepted official employments with the legal qualifications, without giving much offence to either party; amongst others, Sir Humphrey Edwin, a presbyterian, who had been elected lord-mayor in September, 1697, was in the practice of attending one service at the established church, and another service at his usual place of worship amongst the dissenters, every Sunday. This arrangement might not have attracted any particular notice had Sir Humphrey not, upon one occasion, carried the regalia of his office with him to Pinners'-hall meeting-house. This imprudent step roused the jealousy of both churchmen and dissenters, though upon different and opposite principles; and the wits of the day reaped a plentiful harvest from the general excitement of the public mind upon the subject. De Foe viewed the case with a more serious eye than many of his brethren of the pen, and treated it with his accustomed gravity in a tract entitled, 'An Inquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters in cases of preferment.' "In this work," says his latest biographer, Mr Wilson, "the author appears before us in the character of an acute casuist. Assuming as a principle that dissenters in his day continued to separate from the established church from the same motive that actuated the early puritans, that is, to attain a greater purity of worship, he argues that the fast and loose game of religion, which was then played by too many, will not admit of any satisfactory excuse." De Foe was in fact a dissenter of the staunchest class, and took every opportunity of protesting against the trimming system of occasional conformity.

We have hinted at De Foe's repugnance to the avocations and toils of the counting-house. As might have been expected, his pecuniary affairs soon fell into embarrassment, and in 1692 one of his creditors took out a commission of bankruptcy against him, but the writ was instantly superseded on the petition of the rest, who accepted a composition on his own single bond, which he punctually paid by efforts of unwearied diligence. It is also recorded to his lasting honour, that some of his creditors, who had accepted of his composition, fell afterwards into distress themselves, De Foe finding himself able, voluntarily paid his whole debts to them in full. Under King William, De Foe enjoyed considerable court patronage, but he never allowed the sunshine of royal favour to blind him to the great cause of civil and religious liberty. His remonstrance against the imprisonment of some members of the grand jury of Kent, who had presented to the

commons a petition in which they prayed honourable members to "mind the public business more and their private heats less," is remarkable for its bold truths and unshrinking freedom of expression. About this time he published another seasonable tract, entitled, 'The original power of the collective body of the people of England examined and asserted.' Of this treatise Mr Chalmers declares that "it vies with Locke's famous tract in powers of reasoning, and is superior to it in the graces of style." The same biographer has pronounced his 'Reasons against a war with France' to be one of the finest tracts in the English language

The death of King William and accession of Queen Anne placed De Foe, and the dissenters generally, in perilous circumstances. Anne inherited the hostility of the Stuarts to every thing in the shape of nonconformity to church or state, and as to De Foe it has been well-observed, that for the previous twenty years of his life he had been unconsciously charging a mine which now blew himself and his family into the air. He had fought for Monmouth; he had opposed King James; he had vindicated the Revolution; he had panegyrized King William, he had defended the rights of the collective body of the people, he had displeased Lord Godolphin and the duke of Marlborough; he had bantered Sir Edward Seymour and the tory leaders of the commons; he had ridiculed all the 'high-flyers' in the kingdom; and the accumulated indignation and wrath of all these parties and persons now hung like a thunder-cloud above his devoted and defenceless head. At last the storm burst upon him. In the month of January 1703, a proclamation appeared, offering a reward of £50 for De Foe's apprehension, as the author of a libel entitled, 'The shortest way with the Dissenters.' In the Gazette, De Foe is described as "a middle-sized spare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion, and dark brown hair, though he wears a wig, having a hook-nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth." The brochure just mentioned was a playful piece of irony, in which the author gravely proposed, as the easiest and speediest way of ridding the land off dissenters, to hang their ministers and banish the people. But both churchmen and dissenters viewed the whole in a serious light; and while many of the former applauded the author as a staunch and worthy churchman, as many of the latter, filled with apprehensions dire, began to prepare for Tyburn and Smithfield. De Foe perceiving matters assume so serious an aspect, gave himself up, and hastened to assure all parties that he had written but in jest. In the issue, however, he found his jest a very serious affair. He was tried at the Old Bailey sessions in the month of July, 1703, and sentenced to pay a fine of 200 marks, to stand three times in the pillory, and be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure. The sentence reflected more dishonour on the court itself than its prisoner, and what was meant to stamp disgrace upon De Foe, eventually proved a source of triumph and satisfaction to him; for he was accompanied to the pillory by the populace, who expressed their sympathy for him aloud; and when taken down, loud bursts of applause broke forth from the surrounding multitude,—a circumstance which drew from one of his political antagonists this couplet,

> "The shouting crowds their advocate proclaim,
> And varnish over infamy with fame."

De Foe himself treated the whole affair with the contempt it deserved, by publishing a 'Hymn to the pillory,' full of pointed satire against his persecutors. Whilst in prison, his ever-active mind projected a variety of employment for the future, in all which the great objects of religious and political freedom were kept steadily in view. In August, 1704, he was released from prison through the interference of Harley, then secretary of state, who evinced a desire to protect him against his numerous enemies, and even recommended him to the queen and Lord Godolphin as a man of talents and integrity, whose services might be of use to the government. Harley's recommendation led to his employment in several important and delicate affairs of state. In 1706 he undertook a mission to Scotland, connected with the then projected union of the two kingdoms, and in this service he proved an invaluable ally to the ministry, though he suffered a second prosecution for his political writings before the death of the queen. In 1709 he published his 'History of the Union.' It would lead us into greater length of detail than our limits afford to enumerate all the successive publications of this indefatigable author. With the exception of Prynne himself, De Foe was the most voluminous writer of his age. His biographer, Wilson, has furnished a list of two hundred and ten separate pieces from his pen, and he does not consider the list complete. His 'History of the Union' is a book of first-rate authority and importance. His 'Review,' a periodical work which he conducted for a period of nine years, gave to Steele and Addison the first idea of their celebrated Guardians and Spectators. His 'Tour through England and Scotland' is one of the best as well as earliest of a family which has since become so numerous in the annals of our literature. His 'Family Instructor,' published in 1715, gave Richardson the first idea of his 'Pamela,' 'Clarissa Harlowe,' and other novels. His 'History of the Plague' is a piece of unrivalled descriptive narrative, and was mistaken by Mead himself for an authentic record of facts. But the work which must ever immortalize his name, is his 'Robinson Crusoe,' which, from its first appearance up to the present hour, has been the most popular work of fiction in the English language. His 'Memoirs of a Cavalier during the civil wars in England' is another romance the most like to truth that ever was written. It was a favourite book with the great earl of Chatham, who, before he discovered it to be a fiction, used to speak of it as the best account of the civil wars extant. Upon a review of the various and multiform writings of this extraordinary man, Mr Wilson draws the satisfactory conclusion, that "religion was uppermost in his mind,—that he reaped its consolations, and lived under an habitual sense of its practical importance." He died on the 24th of April, 1731.

His reflections on his own history present us with a better, and we doubt not, a more faithful view of the entire man, than any thing we can offer in their room, and we shall, therefore, insert them here:—"I am a stoick," says he, "in whatever may be the event of things. I'll do and say what I think is a debt to justice and truth, without the least regard to clamour and reproach; and as I am utterly unconcerned at human opinion, the people that throw away their breath so freely in censuring me, may consider of some better improvement to make of their passions, than to waste them on a man that is both above and below the reach of them. I know too much of the world to expect

good in it, and have learnt to value it too little to be concerned at the evil. I have gone through a life of wonders, and am the subject of a vast variety of providences: I have been fed more by miracle than Elijah, when the ravens were his purveyors. I have sometime ago summed up the scenes of my life in this distich:—

No man has tasted differing fortunes more,
And thirteen times I have been rich and poor.

In the school of affliction I have learnt more philosophy than at the academy, and more divinity than from the pulpit: in prison I have learnt to know that liberty does not consist in open doors, and the free egress and regress of locomotion. I have seen the rough side of the world as well as the smooth; and have, in less than half a year, tasted the difference between the closet of a king and the dungeon of Newgate. I have suffered deeply for cleaving to principles, of which integrity I have lived to say, none but those I suffered for ever reproached me with it." Such was the man who, by his writings, exercised a greater influence over the public mind in the beginning of the last century than any of his gifted contemporaries. He was framed for the period in which his lot was cast. The times were troublous, and the politics of the day too often of a suspicious and shifting cast; but De Foe's principles were of the sternest kind, and his own character was one of adamantine firmness. Unawed by threats,—undeterred by suffering,—uninfluenced by personal interest,—he held on the upright tenor of his way, amidst difficulties which would have crushed a less intrepid soul than his; and it is for a grateful posterity, now rejoicing in the possession of these civil and religious liberties to a full sense of the importance of which De Foe first awoke his countrymen, to award him a place amongst the purest, most intrepid, and, on the whole, most successful of England's patriots.

The following passages, which we select from his treatise, entitled 'The Original Power of the Collective body of the People of England examined and asserted,' will give the reader a pretty clear idea of De Foe's political sentiments:—

"1. *Salus Populi Suprema Lex:* all government, and consequently our whole constitution, was originally designed, and is maintained, for the support of the people's property, who are the governed.

"2. All the members of government,—whether king, lords, or commons,—if they invert the great end of their institution, the public good, cease to be, in the same public capacity, *and power retreats to its original.*

"3. No collective or representative body of men whatsoever, in matters of politics any more than religion, are, or ever have been, infallible.

"4. Reason is the test and touch-stone of laws; and all law or power that is contradictory to reason is, *ipso facto*, void in itself, and ought not to be obeyed.

"Some other maxims less general are the consequence of these; as,

"First, That such laws as are agreeable to reason and justice being once made, are binding both to king, lords, and commons, either separately or conjunctively, till they are actually repealed in due form.

"That if either of the three powers do dispense with, suspend, or otherwise break, any of the known laws so made, they injure the con-

stitution; and the power so acting ought to be restrained by the other powers not concurring, according to what is lately allowed, that every branch of power is designed as a check upon each other.

"But if all the three powers should join in such an irregular action, the constitution suffers a convulsion, dies, and is dissolved of course.

"Nor does it suffice to say, that king, lords, and commons, can do no wrong; since the mutual consent of parties, on which that foolish maxim is grounded, does not extend to every action king, lords, and commons, are capable of doing.

"There are laws which respect the common rights of the people, as they are the parties to be governed: and with respect to these the king can do no wrong, but all is laid upon his ministers, who are accountable.

"And there are laws which particularly respect the constitution, the king, lords, and commons, as they are the parties governing: in this regard, each branch may wrong and oppress the other, or altogether may do wrong to the people they are made to govern.

"The king may invade the people's properties; and if the lords and commons omit to defend and protect them, they all do wrong, by a tacit approving those abuses they ought to oppose.

"The commons may extend their power to an exorbitant degree, in imprisoning the subject,—dispensing with the *Habeas Corpus* act,—giving unlimited power to their serjeant to oppress the people in his custody,—withholding writs of election from boroughs and towns, and several other ways; which, if they are not checked, either by the king or the lords, they are altogether parties to the wrong, and the subject is apparently injured.

"The lords may err in judicature, and deny justice to the commons, or delay it upon punctilios and studied occasions; and if neither the king nor the commons take care to prevent it, delinquents are excused, and criminals encouraged, and all are guilty of the breach of common justice.

"That, to prevent this, it is absolutely necessary, that in matters of dispute the single power should be governed by the joint, and that nothing should be so insisted upon as to break the correspondence.

"That the three should be directed by the law, and where that is silent, by reason.

"That every person concerned in the law is in his measure a judge of the reason, and therefore in his proper place ought to be allowed to give his reason, in case of dissent.

"That every single power has an absolute negative upon the acts of the other; and if the people, who are without doors, find reason to object, they may do it by petition.

"But because, under pretence of petitioning, seditious and turbulent people may foment disturbances, tumults, and disorders, the subject's right of petitioning being yet recognised and preserved, the circumstances of such petitions are regulated by laws as to the numbers and qualities of the persons petitioning.

"But the laws have no where prescribed the petitioners to any form of words; and therefore no pretence of indecency of expression can be so criminal as to be destructive of the constitution, because though it may deserve the resentment of the petitioned, yet it is not an illegal act, nor a breach of any law.

"And yet the representative body of the people ought not to be bantered or affronted neither, at the will and pleasure of any private person without doors, who finds cause to petition them.

"But if any expression be offensive to the house, it seems reasonable that the persons who are concerned therein should be required to explain themselves; and if upon such explanation the house find no satisfaction as to the particular affront, they are at liberty to proceed as the law directs, but no otherwise.

"And to me the silence of the law in that case seems to imply, that rejecting the petition is a contempt due to any indecency of that nature, and as much resentment as the nature of the thing requires; but, as to breaking in upon personal liberty, which is a thing the law is so tender of, and has made so strong a fence about, I dare not affirm it is a justifiable procedure; no, not in the house of commons. It is alleged, that it has been practised by all parliaments; which is to me far from an argument to prove the legality of it.

"I think it may pass for a maxim, that a man cannot be legally punished for a crime which there is no law to prosecute. Now, since there is no law to prosecute a man for indecency of expression in a petition to the house of commons, it remains a doubt with me how they can be legally punished.

"Precedents are of use to the houses of parliament, where the laws are silent in things relating to themselves, and are doubtless a sufficient authority to act from; but whether any precedent, usage, or custom, of any body of men whatever, can make a thing lawful, which the laws have expressly forbid, remains a doubt with me.

"It were to be wished some of our parliaments would think fit, at one time or another, to clear up the point of the authority of the house of commons in case of imprisoning such as are not of their house, that having the matter stated by those who are the only expositors of our laws, we might be troubled with no more 'legion libels,' to tell them what is, or is not, legal in their proceedings.

"The good of the people governed is the end of all government, and the reason and original of governors; and upon this foundation it is that it has been the practice of all nations, and of this in particular, that if the mal-administration of governors has extended to tyranny and oppression,—to the destruction of right and justice, overthrowing the constitution, and abusing the people,—the people have thought it lawful to reassume the right of government into their own hands, and to reduce their governors to reason."

Byng, Lord Viscount Torrington.

BORN A. D. 1663.—DIED A. D. 1732-3

THIS nobleman was the eldest son of John Byng, Esq. of Wrotham in the county of Kent. He was born at his father's seat on the 27th of January, 1663. Having imbibed a very early attachment to the naval service, he procured, in the year 1678, through the interest of his royal highness, James, duke of York, what was then called 'the king's letter,' a necessary species of warrant or permission for entering

the service in the rank of an officer. In 1681, he quitted the sea service for a time, and entering into the army, through the persuasion of General Kirk, at that time governor of Tangier, became a cadet. But on its having been determined by the English government to evacuate Tangier, Byng was advised to return again to his original line of service, and was appointed lieutenant of the Oxford.

Although he held no higher station than that of lieutenant in the navy, at the time of the Revolution, yet, having returned to England some months before that event took place, he soon displayed all the propensity to political intrigue which renders the service of a man so gifted peculiarly valuable in the hour of popular tumult and commotion. His abilities in this line of service recommended him to the prince of Orange, who employed him as a confidential person to sound the dispositions of, and tamper with such officers as it was thought could be useful, and attach them if possible to the cause of the Revolution. Byng being, from the strong bias of his political prejudices, a vehement enemy to the government, and perhaps to the person of King James II., executed his function with great diligence and zeal.

Immediately after the accession of William to the British throne, Byng was appointed to the Dover, and quickly afterwards advanced to be captain of a third rate, the Hope, of seventy guns. He held no naval commission subsequent to the peace of Ryswick, till after the accession of queen Anne; he was then appointed captain of the Nassau one of the squadron sent under the orders of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, to Vigo, in the month of October, 1702. Soon after his return to England, he was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the red squadron. Having hoisted his flag on board the Ranelagh, of eighty guns, he proceeded to the Mediterranean under the orders of Sir Cloudesley Shovel. Towards the close of the same year he was sent to Algiers, to renew a treaty of peace which then subsisted between Great Britain and that regency. In the brilliant naval operations of 1704, Admiral Byng bore a pre-eminent share. The attack on Gibraltar was solely confided to his command by the admiral-in-chief; and, at the battle of Malaga, his division suffered more than any in the fleet, that of Sir George Rooke only excepted. On his return to England he was received at court with the most flattering approbation by the queen, who conferred on him the honour of knighthood.

On the 26th of January, 1707, Sir George was advanced to be rear-admiral of the blue, and appointed to command a squadron sent into the North seas, in order to oppose the French armament commanded by the Chevalier de Forbin, one of the ablest officers in the French navy, equipped for the purpose of covering the invasion of Scotland. The activity displayed by Sir George, and the surprise occasioned by his sudden appearance off the coast of Flanders, paralyzed the further prosecution of the enemy's plan; and on the French vessels ultimately putting to sea, Sir George compelled them almost instantly to return to port.

Some political disagreements caused him to resign the post of commissioner of the admiralty, in the year 1713; and, during the very short remainder of the queen's reign, he retired into private life. The accession of King George I. reinstated him in his civil appointment; and, in the year 1715, he was again made commander-in-chief of a fleet

sent into the North sea for the purpose of preventing the introduction of any supplies from France into Scotland for the use of the pretender, who had arrived there in person a short time before. The activity which he displayed on this occasion, and the political address with which he, in a great measure, neutralized the support of France so far as it extended to the cause of the house of Stuart, were so extremely satisfactory and grateful to the king, that he created him a baronet, and presented him with a very valuable diamond ring as an especial mark of his own personal esteem for him. In 1717, a repetition of a similar attempt being threatened, under the auspices of that ever-restless prince, Charles XII. of Sweden, Sir George Byng was sent into the Baltic with a strong squadron, and his appearance there put an end to the scheme, for it prevented the Swedish fleet from ever getting out to sea.

In the following year, Spain having manifested the strongest inclination to disturb the public quietude, by equipping a very formidable fleet in the Mediterranean, destined, it was supposed, for an attack upon Naples, Sir George Byng was sent thither with an armament, consisting of twenty ships of the line and six smaller vessels. The British fleet was, on its arrival, hailed by the Neapolitans with a joy almost bordering on frenzy. During the remainder of the current year, and the whole of the ensuing, the admiral continued in the Mediterranean, and, by the succour and assistance of different kinds which he unremittingly afforded to the imperialists, he enabled them to maintain their ground so successfully against the superior army of Spain, that the court of Madrid at length condescended to accede to the quadruple alliance in the month of February, 1719–20, and to the cessation of hostilities in the month of May following.

The eminent services rendered by the admiral could not fail of placing him extremely high in the esteem of his sovereign. The honorary appointment of rear-admiral of Great Britain, with the more pecuniarily advantageous one of treasurer to the navy, were among the first marks of his sovereign's munificence; but they were only the forerunners of his future honours. In the month of January, 1720–21, he was sworn in a member of his majesty's privy-council; and, in the month of September following, was raised to the peerage, by the titles of Baron Southhill, and Viscount Torrington. In the year 1725, on the revival of the order of the Bath, his lordship was elected and installed as one of the knight-companions; during the whole of the same reign he possessed not merely the favour, but the personal friendship of his sovereign. On the accession of George II. he was appointed first-lord-commissioner of the admiralty, which high office he continued to hold during the remainder of his life. He died on the 17th of January, 1732–3, being then in the 70th year of his age.

Thomas Forster.

BORN A. D. 1675.—DIED A. D. 1734.

This gentleman was born in Northumberland about the year 1675. For the first thirty years of his life he was scarcely known beyond the

precincts of his paternal domain. At length he began to take a share in the politics of the day, and, in 1710, was chosen one of the representatives in parliament of his native county. He was a zealous protestant, but his notions as to the succession to the British crown were of such a kind that the partizans of James Stuart easily succeeded in attaching him to their cause, and his house soon became the great rendezvous for all the papists and non-jurors in the north of England.

On the first adoption of measures for preserving the peace of the country in 1715, a warrant was issued for the apprehension of Forster, who instantly fled in disguise to the house of one Fenwick, at Bywell. Soon afterwards, he, and about twenty other gentlemen, took up arms, and declared for the pretender. They were joined by the earl of Derwentwater, and having marched upon Warkworth, Forster at that place proclaimed James Edward Stuart, king of Britain, by the title of James III. This took place on the 7th of October; on the 10th they proceeded to Morpeth, where the prince was again proclaimed by one Buxton, a clergyman. From Morpeth, Forster's party moved towards Newcastle; but, finding the gates of that place closed against them, they turned towards Hexham. At this latter place they were joined by several of the Scottish partizans of the house of Stuart, and Forster received a commission from the earl of Mar to act as general of the insurgents in the meantime. He soon evinced, however, that he was utterly destitute of the talents requisite for such a charge, at such a crisis. Having marched to Kelso, he lingered there in a state of utter inactivity for seven days; and, on the arrival of the royalist general, Carpenter, in the neighbourhood, he betook himself to a series of the most vacillating and unsoldier-like movements,—now seeming as if he would fall back upon the west of Scotland, now threatening Dumfries, and finally marching upon Kirby-Lonsdale in Westmoreland. Here he might have remained with considerable safety for a time, until reinforcements had gathered around him; but he infatuatedly proceeded towards Preston, where he was soon hemmed in by generals Carpenter and Wills. The result is too well known; the Highland chiefs would have attempted to cut their way though the enemy's ranks, sword in hand, but their English allies refused to join them, and Forster, in particular, urged a capitulation.

The house of commons expelled Forster from his seat in the month of January, 1716. It had been arranged that he should be tried for high treason on the 14th of April following, but four days previous to the day of trial, Forster made his escape, and got safely to France. He continued in exile for the remainder of his life, and is supposed to have died at Paris in 1734.

Fitzjames, Duke of Berwick.

BORN A. D. 1670.—DIED A. D. 1734.

JAMES FITZJAMES, duke of Berwick, the illegitimate son of James, duke of York, afterwards James II., by Arabella Churchill, sister to Marlborough, was born on the 21st of August, 1670, and educated with his brother, subsequently duke of Albemarle, at Tully, the col-

lege of Plessis, and Paris. At the age of fifteen he entered the imperial army, and served a campaign in Hungary, where he obtained the command of a regiment of cuirassiers. On his return to England, although still under eighteen, he was appointed governor of Portsmouth. In the next summer he was made colonel of a regiment of infantry, and, soon after, of Lord Oxford's horse-guards. He surrendered Portsmouth to the prince of Orange by command of his royal father, with whom he embarked at Rochester for France.

In March, 1689, he landed with James at Kinsale, and highly distinguished himself against the troops of William at Donegal, Enniskillin, and other parts of Ireland; he afterwards accompanied Louis XIV. as a volunteer, to the seat of war in Flanders. During the campaign of 1693, he was made prisoner by his uncle, Brigadier-general Churchill, brother to the duke of Marlborough. In 1695 he married a daughter of the earl of Clanricard; but, having become a widower in 1698, on his return from a tour in Italy, about two years after, he formed a union with a niece of Lord Bulkeley. In 1702 he appears to have commanded part of the French forces in Flanders under the duke of Burgundy and Marshal Boufflers; and, in 1704, he served a campaign in Spain as captain-general of the forces of Philip V., who invested him, for his services, with the order of the Golden fleece. During the next year, being recalled by the king of France, he held the supreme command in Languedoc; and, having laid siege to Nice, then considered one of the strongest places in Europe, compelled it to capitulate. In February, 1706, he was created marshal of France, and, shortly after, resumed the command of the army in Spain, the previous disasters of which he had the honour, in some measure, of retrieving. He obtained, as a mark of gratitude from the Spanish king, the title of duke of Berwick, with the towns of Liric, Xerica, and their dependencies.

In 1708 he was appointed to command the French forces in Dauphiny, but was shortly afterwards removed to the army under the elector of Bavaria, of which, although second in command, he is said to have solely directed the operations. In 1709 he obtained from Louis the dukedom of Warty; and after having, in the interim, added materially to his reputation as a commander, he reduced, in 1714, the garrison and city of Barcelona.

About this time he appears to have devoted much of his attention to the restoration of the Stuarts. By means of Lady Masham, he and his party succeeded, as he states, in procuring the dismissal of the lord-treasurer, Harley; "but, unfortunately," he adds, "before the new ministry could have time to concert their measures together, every hope of success was precluded by the death of the queen, which happened on the 12th of August, 1714, four days after the earl of Oxford's dismission. The elector of Hanover was instantly proclaimed king, and, by his orders, every thing was changed. I was then in Catalonia, at too great a distance to act, or even to give advice; and had I been at Paris, I should have been much embarrassed, considering the position of affairs. It was not our fault that we had not concerted any arrangements in case of the event which had just happened; and France, however well-inclined she might be, was not in a condition to risk a new

war to support the interests of the young pretender." The French monarch being either unwilling or unable to afford the Jacobites any assistance, Berwick applied for help to the king of Sweden, who, as he states, had eight thousand men encamped at Gottenburg, and several transports in the harbour, which might have conveyed the troops to Scotland in eight-and-forty hours. The pretender agreed to pay down 50,000 crowns for the costs of embarkation. The court of France encouraged the enterprize. But the Swedish king, according to Berwick, missed a glorious opportunity of advancing his affairs, or rather of relieving himself from oppression, by declining to afford the expected aid, alleging that he wanted the whole of his troops for the defence of his own dominions.

In 1716 the duke of Berwick was appointed to a military command in Guienne, and subsequently distinguished himself, on various occasions, as a general of consummate skill and extraordinary courage, until 1734, when he was killed by a cannon-ball at the siege of Philipsburg. He is described as having been fond of glory; but to have sought it, chiefly in the line of his duty, which no one knew or performed better than himself. In the hurry of the most difficult operations, and the heat of the warmest actions, he is said to have preserved "that tranquility and coolness which is the effect of natural intrepidity, and a perfect knowledge of that art, which, in showing us all we have to fear from an enemy, points out, at the same time, what we have to oppose to him."

James, Earl of Berkeley.

BORN A. D. 1680.—DIED A. D. 1736.

THE family of this nobleman has produced many distinguished naval characters. Sir William Berkeley, Charles Lord Berkeley, and John Lord Berkeley of Stratton, were all distinguished names in the naval history of their country. The subject of our present notice was the grandson of George, created first earl of Berkeley by Charles II., in 1679. He early manifested a decided predilection for maritime life and adventure; and having entered the navy, and passed with much credit through all the subordinate ranks, he was on the 2d of April, 1702, promoted to the Sorlings frigate.

Almost immediately after the accession of Queen Anne, he was appointed to the Litchfield, a fourth-rate of fifty guns, with which he made some good captures. In the beginning of the year 1704, he was appointed to the Boyne, of eighty guns, and was soon after sent out under Sir Cloudesley Shovel to reinforce Sir George Rooke's fleet in the Straits. He had been previously called up to the house of lords by writ under his honorary title of Lord Dursley. In the engagement off Malaga, the Boyne was fought with great judgment and gallantry.[1] In 1706 Lord Dursley commanded the St George under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, in the Mediterranean; and the next year he displayed great

[1] Lediard.

gallantry at the siege of Toulon. On his passage homewards the St George narrowly escaped sharing the fate of Sir Cloudesley's vessel, the Association.

On the 26th of January, 1707, this very young officer was made vice-admiral of the blue. This appointment was contrary to the practice at least of the service: it was his first appointment as a flag-officer, so that his lordship was advanced over the heads of every rear-admiral in the service, as well as of his senior captains. Political influence was no doubt the secret of his lordship's unexampled success; yet his merits as a seaman were so generally acknowledged, that the appointment was submitted to by his brother-officers without much complaint. He hoisted his flag on board the Berwick, and joined Sir George Byng's fleet, immediately after this last appointment. In 1708 he was made vice-admiral of the white. In these successive appointments Lord Dursley appears to have conducted himself with great energy and judgment, especially in the protection of his country's commerce, and clearing the narrow seas of the swarms of privateers that then infested them; but no opportunity offered of coming to any decisive action with the hostile fleets.

By the death of his father, in September, 1710, he became earl of Berkeley, and was immediately constituted lord-lieutenant of Gloucestershire. In April, 1717, he was sworn a member of the privy-council, and on the same day appointed first lord-commissioner of the admiralty, which high station he continued to fill during the remainder of the reign of King George I. On the 13th of March, 1718–19, in anticipation of the rupture with Spain, he was appointed admiral and commander in-chief of the fleet. The author of Sir J. Leake's life has the following observations on his lordship's conduct:—"The earl of Berkeley being then vice-admiral of Great Britain— to which honorary station he was appointed on the 21st of March, 1718–19, at a time when Sir John Norris was rear-admiral only—and first lord-commissioner of the admiralty, endeavoured to come as near the lord-high-admiral as possible, both in power and state; by a particular warrant from the crown he hoisted the lord-high admiral's flag, as it is called - the first time, I believe, it was ever worn in command at sea—and had three captains appointed under him, as a lord-high-admiral,—Littleton, then vice-admiral of the white, being his first captain. This appointment was rendered the more extraordinary from the circumstance of Sir John Norris, who was a senior flag-officer, being at that time employed in the channel, and honoured with no such distinction." The earl having hoisted his flag on board the Dorsetshire at Spithead, sailed from St Helens on the 29th of March, with a squadron of seven ships of the line, to join one of the same force under Sir John Norris, which was cruizing between Scilly and the Lizard. Having stretched as far as Cape Clear, he returned back into the British channel on the 4th of April; when coming into Spithead he struck his flag on the 15th, and repaired to London. After this time he appears to have retired totally from the line of active service, at least as a naval commander, thereby giving occasion to Swift to affirm of him that he was "intolerably lazy." Collins, briefly recapitulating the great variety of civil offices held by this noble lord, gives us the following short account of him, and adds some other heraldic particulars relative to his family:—"He was," says

he, "five times one of the lords-justices of Great Britain, whilst his majesty went to Hanover; and being elected a knight of the most noble order of the Garter on March 31st, 1718, he was installed on April 30th following, and placed in the fourteenth stall at Windsor. On September 15th, 1727, he was appointed lord-lieutenant of Lincolnshire by his late majesty; and on November 10th, in that year, was constituted lord-lieutenant of the county of Gloucester, and cities and counties of Gloucester and Bristol, as also of the county of Surrey, and likewise Custos-rotulorum of the counties of Gloucester and Surrey: moreover, on the 17th of the same month, he was appointed keeper of the forest of Dean and constable of St Briavel's castle, also vice-admiral of Great Britain, and lieutenant of the admiralties thereof, and lieutenant of the navies and seas of this kingdom. He departed this life at the castle of Aubigny, a seat of the duke of Richmond, near Rochelle in France, being there for the recovery of his health, on the 17th of August, 1736, and was buried at Berkeley."

Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough.

BORN A. D. 1658—DIED A. D. 1735.

CHARLES MORDAUNT, son of John, Lord Mordaunt of Reigate in Surrey, by Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Carey, second son of Robert, Earl of Monmouth, was born in 1658. When a mere boy he served on board the Mediterranean fleet under Admiral Torrington. In 1680 he was present at the siege of Tangier, but had previous to this date exchanged the naval for the military service. He succeeded to the titles and estate of his family in 1675, and appears to have embraced the politics of the opposition party from his earliest entrance on political life. Walpole states that he was implicated in Lord Russell's affair, and that he boldly accompanied Sydney to the scaffold: be this as it may, it is certain that he actively opposed the ill-advised proceeding of James II., and eventually quitted England in disgust with the measures of the court. He retired to Holland. "The Lord Mordaunt," says Burnet, "was the first of all the English nobility that came over openly to see the prince of Orange. He asked the king's leave to do it. He was a man of much heat, many notions, and full of discourse. He was brave and generous, but had not true judgment. His thoughts were crude and undigested, and his secrets were soon known. He was with the prince in 1686; and then he pressed him to undertake the business of England, and he represented the matter as so easy, that this appeared too romantical to the prince to build upon it." Yet, adds Burnet soon after, he was "one whom his highness chiefly trusted, and by whose advice he governed his motions."

When William ascended the throne of England, Mordaunt was created earl of Monmouth; on the 9th of April, 1689, he was also nominated first-commissioner of the treasury. But we find him suddenly dismissed from the king's counsels in the month of November 1690. The occasion of this rupture is not exactly known; he retained his military appointments, however, and accompanied the horse-guards to the continent in 1692.

In 1696, Monmouth was suddenly thrown into the Tower. Mr Gleig has thus compressed the substance of the information furnished by Tindal and Burnet on this transaction: "We need scarcely remind our readers, that in 1696 a plot for the assassination of King William was detected; and that Sir John Fenwick, a violent Jacobite, was, along with other persons, arrested as one of the conspirators. Through the management of his wife, a near relative of the earl of Carlisle, one of the principal witnesses against the prisoner was induced to fly the country; so that, when the day of trial came, it was found necessary to suspend the proceedings, the testimony of one being insufficient to convict of high treason. A bill of attainder was in consequence introduced into parliament; during the preparation and progress of which, considerable delays occurred; and other and more powerful parties were, by means highly disgraceful to all concerned, dragged as it were before the bar of public opinion. A pamphlet appeared, having the name of Smith upon the title-page, which charged Lord Shrewsbury with being accessory to the plot; while Fenwick himself threw out more than one hint that the accusation was not absolutely groundless. As the proceedings went on, however, Fenwick refused to repeat his insinuations, or to fasten a positive charge on Lord Shrewsbury; while Peterborough, who at first appeared reluctant to sanction the of attainder, spoke vehemently in favour of its passing. Strange occurrences followed upon this. The duchess of Norfolk openly declared, that the whole device of Lord Shrewsbury's accusation originated with Lord Monmouth. She asserted that he, assisted by Dr Davenant, drew up the pamphlet of which Smith stood forth as the ostensible author; and that Lady Fenwick had repeatedly been worked upon, the duchess herself being the instrument, to encourage her husband in his designs against Shrewsbury. We are not called upon to decide whether this story, given in part by Tindal, in part by Bishop Burnet, be or be not correct: all that we know on the subject is, that an inquiry took place before both houses of parliament; that Smith's book was pronounced by the commons to be libellous and false; that both Fenwick and his lady confirmed before the lords the statements of the duchess of Norfolk; and that Peterborough suffered immediately afterwards, the disgrace of which we have already spoken. Yet, though the tale undeniably received credence at the time (and Marlborough among others believed it), the king would not push matters to an extremity. Monmouth was liberated, after a short confinement; and the loss (of places) says Burnet, 'was secretly made up to him; for the court was resolved not to lose him quite.'"[1]

On the death of Henry, second earl of Peterborough, in June 1697 Monmouth, his nephew and heir-at-law, succeeded to the title. After this period, he does not appear for some years to have held any public office. In 1704, however, we find him appointed to command the land-forces sent into Spain with the view of exciting a movement on behalf of the Austrian party. His instructions on this occasion were conceived in very general terms, and amounted to little more than an indefinite commission to make "a vigorous push in Spain," and thus distract the attention of the enemy. He sailed in May, 1705, with an

[1] Life of Peterborough in 'Cabinet Cyclopædia.'

armament consisting of something less than 5,000 men, of whom one-third were Dutch, the rest English. On the 20th of June, he arrived in Lisbon, where he was joined by the prince of Hesse and the archduke Charles, previous to sailing for the Tagus. This union was so far unfortunate, that it proved the cause of Peterborough abandoning a very brilliant and well-conceived plan for making a dash upon Madrid; but he was compensated in a considerable degree for this disappointment by the reduction of Barcelona,—a task which, but for the inventive genius and extraordinary resources of the English commander, would have been utterly impracticable to an a sailing force of six times the number. Almost equally brilliant in conception and execution was the scheme by which he contrived to re San Mateo, when hard pressed by the forces under Las Torres. "Among the various qualities required in forming the character of an active military commander," says Mr Gleig, "not the least important, perhaps, is the possession of a hardy and robust constitution: with this, nature had, in a striking degree, gifted Peterborough: for, though slight of form, and delicately fair in his complexion, there was no extent of fatigue or privation which he seemed unable to endure. Night and day he was in the saddle; scarce a patrol, however weak, sallied forth from headquarters, which he did not accompany either in part or throughout; and hence there was not a service performed, of the slightest importance, which he was not personally present to control. With such a leader at their head, we cannot be surprised to learn that every private trooper became a hero. There was not a man in his little corps, indeed, who did not feel that upon himself, in a great degree, depended the success or failure of the enterprise; and hence there was not a man whose energies, both of mind and body, were not, from first to last, excited to their utmost stretch. It is not surprising that men so acted upon by what may be termed the best spirit of chivalry, should have performed prodigies both of valour and discretion."

There is little doubt, had Peterborough's suggestion been followed throughout, that the fate of the campaign in Spain against the duke of Berwick would have been very different from what it was. But Charles knew not the value of his man; and when Peterborough, in a moment of disgust and disappointment, intimated his intentions of directing his future operations to the assistance of the duke of Savoy, no wish was expressed against the suggestion. His reception at the court of Turin, however, was disappointing, and for some time Peterborough appears to have led a restless and inglorious life, quarrelling successively with the chiefs of the Austrian party, and even with his patron Marlborough.

In November, 1709, he presented himself in London, but kept aloof from court. He did not take any very prominent part in politics, but attached himself decidedly to Harley and the tories. "Time passed," says Mr Gleig, "and the increasing influence of the tories opened out to Peterborough prospects of honours more and more brilliant. The wrongs under which he believed that he had so long laboured, were gradually admitted as such in the highest quarter; and the session of 1710-11 brought with it a more than adequate compensation for all his sufferings. The same parliament which refused its thanks to Marlborough, instituted an elaborate inquiry into the conduct of the war in Spain; which it summed up by pronouncing, through its official organ, the

lord-keeper, an extravagant eulogium on the gallantry and good conduct of the earl. Far be it from us to insinuate that the judgment at which parliament arrived was not a correct one. From the tone of this memoir it will have been already discovered, that we regard Peterborough as by far the ablest officer employed in the Spanish war, yet we must be permitted to observe, that commendation from a body which could even indirectly censure the military conduct of Marlborough, need not be rated at an extravagant value. The earl was, however, gratified by the compliment, and became, in consequence, more and more the supporter of the court party and the enemy of Godolphin and his friends.

"One effect of the changes which occurred about this time in the constitution of the queen's cabinet, was to bring Peterborough again prominently forward into public life. We find him, for example, in 1711, in the character of ambassador at Turin and the court of Italy, whence he proceeded to Vienna, with the view of attempting down certain differences which had arisen between the duke of Savoy and the emperor. He was eminently successful here—so much so, indeed, that not even the death of Joseph, and the uncertainty as to a successor which ensued, operated to hold back Victor Amadeus from the line of field in force. He was rewarded for his services on this occasion by being appointed colonel of the royal regiment of horse guards,—a dignity which was speedily followed by others neither less gratifying nor less coveted. During the year 1712, he was successively promoted to the rank of general of marines and lord-lieutenant of the county of Northampton. This was followed by his nomination to the government of Minorca, a post of profit but not of honour, which, on the 1st of August, 1713, the order of the Garter was bestowed upon him.

After the death of Queen Anne Peterborough resumed his generalship of marines, but was in no wise taken notice of by the ministry. He endeavoured to banish *ennui* by the company and conversation of the leading wits of the day—among whom he contrived to make a tolerably respectable figure, notwithstanding the deficiencies of his early education—he also became a frequenter of green rooms, and a dangler after the actresses and singers of the day. At last, worn out in body and the victim of chagrin and intemperance united, he set out to seek the restoration of his health in a milder climate, but died in his voyage to Lisbon, on the 25th of October 1735.

Charles, Viscount Townshend.

BORN A.D. 1671.—DIED A.D. 1738.

This eminent man, the eldest son of Horatio, first Viscount Townshend, was born on the 10th of March, 1671. He took his seat in the house of peers on attaining his majority, and became successively lord lieutenant of the county of Norfolk—a commissioner for treating of an union with Scotland,—captain-yeoman of Queen Anne's guard,—a privy-councillor,—and one of the plenipotentiaries for negotiating a peace with France in 1709. His colleague, on this occasion, was the duke of Marlborough. In the following year Townshend, who had remained

at the Hague, again entered into a negotiation for peace with the French government; but, as on the previous occasion, his labours proved abortive. Queen Anne having dismissed her whig ministers, Townshend resigned his embassy, and, on his return to England, was deprived of his post as captain-yeoman of the guard, and censured by the house of commons, in which tory influence at that time predominated, for having signed the preliminaries of the barrier-treaty,—a measure which materially increased his consequence with the whigs. He remained in disgrace at court during the remainder of the queen's reign.

On the accession of George I., whose entire confidence Townshend had previously obtained, he was nominated one of the lords-justices to whom the government was confided until the king's arrival. On the 14th of September, 1714, he was made chief secretary of state, and took the lead in administration until the latter end of 1716, when the king's Hanoverian advisers having prejudiced the royal mind against him, he resigned his seals of office. In the following month he was appointed to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland; but having refused to go over to that kingdom, he was dismissed in the ensuing April. In June, 1720, he became president of the council, and was appointed one of the lords-justices during the king's visit to Hanover. Shortly afterwards he resumed his office of chief secretary of state, and in May, 1723, accompanied George I. to his electorate.

The death of Stanhope and the disgrace of Sunderland at length left Townshend, and his brother-in-law, Walpole, without any formidable competitors, and their political supremacy was for some time secured by the favour of the king and the approbation of his people. In July, 1724, Townshend was made a knight of the Garter. In 1727 he again accompanied George I. to the continent, and was present at that monarch's decease.

He continued in office after the accession of George II., until May 1730, when, in consequence of various differences that had occurred between him and his coadjutor Walpole, he finally retired from the administration, and devoted himself, during the remainder of his life, to rural pursuits and dignified hospitality. He never revisited the capital after his secession from power, and died at Raynham in 1738.

Townshend is described as having been rude in manners,—sanguine, impetuous, overbearing, and impatient of contradiction,—inelegant in language, and often perplexed in argument, but a sensible orator, and always master of the subjects on which he spoke,—generous, disinterested, of unblemished integrity, and perfect honour,—an able man of business, and, notwithstanding his despotic conduct in the cabinet, a kind master, an indulgent parent, an affectionate husband, and a faithful friend. Burnet thus describes him at the period when he was appointed a plenipotentiary to negotiate peace with France:—"Lord Townshend had great parts,—had improved them by travelling,—and was by much the most shining person of all our young nobility, and had, on many occasions, distinguished himself very eminently; so he was a man of integrity and of good principles in all respects,—free from all vice, and of an engaging conversation."

He was twice married; first, in 1700, to Elizabeth, only child of Viscount Pelham by his first wife, who, after having born him five children, died in May, 1711; and secondly to Dorothy, the sister of

Sir Robert Walpole, by whom he had six children, and whom he also survived.

Sir William Wyndham.

BORN A. D. 1687.—DIED A. D. 1740.

THIS eminent statesman, chancellor of the exchequer in the reign of Queen Anne, was descended from an ancient Norfolk family, which possessed the lands of Wymondham in that county from a very early period. He was the grandson of Sir William Wyndham, on whom Charles II. conferred a baronetcy. He received his education at Eton, and at Christ-church, Oxford. On quitting the university he spent some years in foreign travel; soon after his return to England he was chosen knight of the shire for Somerset, in which station he served in the three last parliaments of Queen Anne, and in all the subsequent parliaments, until her death.

Soon after the change of ministry in 1710, Sir William was made secretary at war. In August, 1713, he became chancellor of the exchequer. Upon the breach between the lord-high-treasurer and Bolingbroke in 1714, Sir William adhered to the interests of the latter. He endeavoured to attach himself to the Hanoverian party on the death of Anne, but Sir Richard Onslow supplanted him in the exchequer, and in the next parliament he appeared on the opposition side. He strenuously defended the duke of Ormond and the earls of Oxford and Strafford upon their impeachment; and altogether acted in such a spirit of determined opposition to the existing administration, as to draw upon him the suspicion of being connected with the Stuart party. On the breaking out of Mar's rebellion in 1715, Sir William was apprehended and sent to the Tower, but he was afterwards set at liberty without a trial. After this period he still pursued his career of opposition, but upon broader and more general principles. He died in 1740. Pope, with whom he was very intimate, thus mentions him:—

> "Wyndham—just to freedom and the throne,
> The master of our passions and his own."

Sir William was twice married: first to a daughter of the duke of Somerset, by whom he had a son, who afterwards became earl of Egremont; his second wife was the marquess of Blandford's widow. There can be no question that Sir William possessed very powerful abilities; but his political integrity is not altogether free from suspicion.

John, Duke of Argyle and Greenwich.

BORN A. D. 1678.—DIED A. D. 1745.

THIS able and honest politician, steady patriot, and celebrated general, was born in the year 1678. In 1694, when not full seventeen years of King William gave him the command of a regiment. His father,

the first duke of Argyle, dying in 1703, his grace was soon after sworn of his majesty's privy-council, appointed captain of the Scotch horse-guards, and one of the extraordinary lords of session of Scotland. In 1704 he was installed one of the knights of the thistle, and in 1705 he was made a peer of England by the title of Baron of Chatham and Earl of Greenwich.

At the battle of Ramillies, in 1706, he acted as brigadier-general, and though but a young man, gave signal proofs of his valour. He also commanded at the siege of Ostend as brigadier-general, and in the same station at that of Menin, and was in the action of Oudenarde in 1708. At the siege of Ghent he commanded as major-general, and took possession of the town. In 1709, at the siege of Tournay, which was carried on by three attacks, he commanded one of them in quality of lieutenant-general, to which rank he had been raised few months before. At the battle of Malplaquet, the same year, the duke of Argyle was ordered to dislodge the enemy from the wood of Sart,—a piece of service which he executed with great bravery and resolution. In 1711 he was appointed ambassador-extraordinary to King Charles III. of Spain, and generalissimo of the British forces in that kingdom.

After his grace's return to England, he did not remain long in the favour of the ministry, for he heartily joined in opposing all the intrigues against the protestant succession; and, in 1713, made a motion in the house of lords for dissolving the union, occasioned by a malt-bill being brought into the house for Scotland, which motion was carried in the negative by four voices only. In the spring of the year 1714, he was deprived of all the employments he held under the crown.

Upon the accession of George I. his grace was one of the nineteen members of the regency nominated by his majesty; and on the king's arrival in England he was immediately taken into favour at court, and made general and commander-in-chief of the king's forces in Scotland. In consequence of this commission, his grace commanded the army when the rebellion broke out in Scotland in 1715. The particulars of this rebellion have been elsewhere related, and it seems only necessary in this place to mention, that his grace, during the whole course of it, exerted himself in an able and successful manner against the enemies of the protestant succession. After having put the army into winter-quarters, he returned to London, and was most graciously received by his majesty; but in a few months, to the surprise of all, he was dismissed from all his offices.

In June, 1715, when the famous schism bill was brought into the house of lords, he opposed it with great zeal and strength of argument. In the debate on the mutiny-bill, he opposed any extension of the military power, and urged the necessity of a reduction of the standing army, a step which was by no means agreeable to the court. In the beginning of the year 1719, his grace was again admitted into his majesty's favour, who was pleased to appoint him lord-steward of his household and to create him Duke of Greenwich. In 1722, the duke of Argyle distinguished himself in the house of lords in a very interesting debate on the bill for banishing Dr Atterbury, bishop of Rochester. It was chiefly owing to his grace's persuasive eloquence that this bill passed. In 1726 his grace was appointed colonel of the prince of Wales' regiment of horse. But notwithstanding these promotions, the duke, with patri-

zeal for his native country, warmly opposed the extension of the malt-tax to Scotland.

From this time we have no memoirs of any transactions in the life of this great man deserving public notice, till the year 1737, when a bill was brought into parliament for punishing the lord-provost of Edinburgh, for abolishing the city-guard, and for depriving the corporation of several ancient privileges, on account of the insurrection in 1736, when the mob broke into the prison and took out Captain Porteous and hanged him. The duke of Argyle opposed this bill with great warmth in the house of lords as an act of unjust severity. His grace's conduct in this affair highly displeased the ministry, but they did not think proper to show any public marks of resentment at the time. In 1739, when the convention with Spain was brought before the house, he spoke with warmth against it; and, in the same session, his grace opposed a vote of credit, as there was no sum limited in the message sent by his majesty. Upon the election of a new parliament in 1741, on the application of the city of Edinburgh, and several corporations, who addressed him in form at that time, he pointed out to them men of steady, honest, and loyal principles, and independent fortunes; and, where he had any interest, he endeavoured to prevail with the electors to choose such men.

On the disgrace of Walpole, the duke became the darling of the people, and he seemed likewise to be perfectly restored to favour at court, for he was made master-general of the ordnance, colonel of his majesty's royal regiment of horse-guards, and field-marshal and commander-in-chief of all the forces in South Britain But in a few months, his grace, perceiving that a change of men produced little or no change of measures, resigned all his posts, and from this time retired from public business, ever after courting privacy and living in retirement.

The duke had been for some years labouring under a paralytic disorder, which put a period to his life in the year 1745. A superb monument was erected in Westminster-abbey to his memory, Sir William Fermor, while his grace was living, having left £500 to defray the expense of it, out of regard to the great merit of his grace, both as a general and a patriot.

Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Orford.

BORN A. D. 1676.—DIED A. D. 1745.

THE earliest British statesman whose practical system of government may be said still to affect the politics of this country, and the man under whom Britain acquired the characteristics of her present mercantile power, calls for more minute attention than can be often bestowed on the memoirs of men more illustrious for their genius or respected for their integrity. Robert Walpole was born in his paternal mansion at Houghton, on the 26th of August, 1676.[1] He received the rudiments of education in a private seminary at Massingham in Norfolk, of the

[1] Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, vol. i. p 3 All the facts in the present Memoir, not otherwise quoted, are derived from the voluminous collection of that laborious historian.

master of which an anecdote has been recorded, which shows him not to have been aptly fitted to instil a towering ambition into the mind of the youthful statesman. During the long and brilliant period of Sir Robert's administration, the humble pedagogue remained as unobtrusive on the notice of his great pupil as he was unnoticed; but when the minister fell, his early friend visited him in his retirement. "I knew that you were surrounded with so many petitioners craving preferment," he said, in answer to the natural interrogatories as to the cause of his long absence, "and that you had done so much for Norfolk people that I did not wish to intrude. But," continued the simple-minded man, "I always inquired how Robin went on, and was satisfied with your proceedings." He continued his studies at Eton under Mr Newborough, but little of his early qualifications is handed down to us, excepting a predilection for the works of Horace, and an innate talent for public speaking, which he is supposed to have possessed. On the 22d of April, 1696, he obtained a scholarship of King's-college, Cambridge, which, after having retained for two years, interrupted by severe illness, he resigned on the death of his elder brother in 1698. He appears for some time to have lived in family with his father, Sir Robert Walpole, a country-gentleman statesman, who lived retired from court, on an unburdened income of two thousand a year, occasionally repairing to the capital when his vote was wanted as one of the members for the borough of Castle-Rising, and spending the other portions of the time in rural jollity and the care of his estate. The young statesman incurred the danger of being made as 'excellent a fellow' as his father. The father, who had a very decorous dislike at appearing drunk before his son, used to remark during their convivial evenings, "Come, Robert, you shall drink twice while I drink once, for I will not permit the son in his sober senses to be witness to the intoxication of his father."

On the 30th of July, 1700, Robert married Catherine, daughter of Sir John Shorter, lord-mayor of London,[2] and by his father's death in the following November, he inherited the paternal estate. During the two last years of the reign of King William, he commenced his political career by sitting as member for Castle-Rising, a borough, of which the two seats, along with one for Lynn-Regis, constituted the extensive electoral interest of his family. He immediately resumed his seat on the accession of Anne, and although he made no attempt at sudden distinction, he gradually assumed importance, and became a much trusted adherent of the zealous friends to the protestant succession. He seconded the motion of Sir Charles Hedges for extending the compulsory application of the oath of abjuration to all ecclesiastics and members of the universities, and made a motion (which was negatived,) to resume all grants during the reign of King James, as an extension of a resolution to apply all those granted during the reign of King William to the service of the public. When Godolphin, in 1705, found it expedient to support his ministry on whig principles, Walpole's political zeal was rewarded by an appointment as one of the council to Prince George of Denmark; and when the ministers achieved a victory over the favourites of the queen, by the dismissal of her tory friends, in 1708, he was advanced to the important situation of the secretaryship at war, in place

[2] The individual who was *chosen* lord-mayor by James II.

of Henry St John, and as a zealous and powerful friend of the whigs, was appointed one of the managers of the impeachment of Sacheverell. In the performance of this delicate duty, his speeches are said to have borne more the aspect of philosophical candour than of party rancour, but he is known to have been the author of a pamphlet denouncing those who favoured Sacheverell as the abettors of the pretender.[3] In the words of one of his adversaries, he was looked upon as "one of the whigs' chief speakers,"[4] when he was involved in the fall of his friends in 1710. The tories, not at union with themselves, would undoubtedly have found the talents of this rising statesman useful to their cause; and there is every reason to believe that they made him offers, which he had sufficient firmness to reject.

On the 21st of December, 1711, he was accused before the house of commons of corruption, having in two forage-contracts in Scotland received two notes of hand, the one for five hundred guineas, the other for five hundred pounds; the offence was considered proved, and he was by small majorities expelled the house and committed to the Tower. In confinement he published a pamphlet in his own defence, showing, that the person who really profited by the transaction was his friend, Mr Mann, who had agreed to receive the sums in question as a consideration for giving up to the other contractors a share in the transaction, (amounting to a fifth part,) which had been reserved by Walpole in terms of the original agreement, for the advantage of any friend he might name; while the notes had been accidentally drawn in his own name instead of that of his friend. Few will doubt that party-feeling exceeded the love of justice in prompting the prosecution; while it must be admitted, that presuming Walpole not to have profited by the transaction, he at least showed that negligence towards the honest application of the public funds which afforded the firmest handle to his opponents during his administration.

When released at the termination of the session, he vigorously aided the opposition, and for a period injured his private fortune by a magnificent display of hospitality to those who might assist him in the return of his party to power, and in obtaining information for the purposes of attack. It may perhaps be worthy of being mentioned, that at the period of the rupture between Oxford and Bolingbroke, Walpole, with a few other leading whigs, appears to have countenanced some advances on the part of the latter, the extent of which it is difficult to determine.[5] On the formation of the new ministry after the arrival of the king, Walpole was appointed paymaster of the forces, and several of his friends were provided with subordinate situations. He was appointed chairman of the committee of secrecy for examining the conduct of the former administration, and he showed himself the active leader of the transaction, not as an investigator, but a prosecutor; he was the man who impeached Bolingbroke of high treason and other crimes and misdemeanors. On the 11th of October, 1715, he was rewarded for his

[3] Four Letters to a Friend in Scotland upon Sacheverell's Trial,—"Falsely attributed to Mr Maynwaring, who did not write them, though he sometimes revised Mr Walpole's pamphlets."—Horace Walpole's Catalogue of his father's pamphlets, Works, vol. i. p. 447.

[4] Swift's Works, (Scott's edition,) vol. ii. p 437.

[5] Swift's Works, vol. xvi. p. 195. On the day on which Lord Oxford resigned, Walpole, along with Stanhope, Craggs, and Pulteney, dined with Bolingbroke.

active zeal by being appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, in the cabinet ostensibly led by his brother-in-law and early friend, Viscount Townshend. A severe illness followed his elevation, and the prosecution of the rebels, a task in which he had laboriously aided. In the interval of his absence the septennial bill was introduced into parliament; an act which has justly been looked on as one of the measures of his government, from his assistance in its preparation previous to his illness, and which is certainly strikingly characteristic of an administration which turned all its measures not on general principles of policy, but on the means of fortifying their party. On the visit of the king to his native country, the earl of Sunderland, assisted by Sir William Wyndham, a tory, but the friend of Townshend and Walpole, began to rise in personal influence with the monarch, and the tories viewed with pleasure and expectation the balance almost equally held between two parties among their enemies.[6] Townshend, when the power of his new opponents was fully established, quickly exchanged his premiership for the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. Walpole, who might have remained ostensible head of the administration, preferred being powerful in opposition to being weak in the cabinet. On the 10th of March, 1717, he called on the king to deliver up the seals of office: his majesty, anxious to retain so useful a friend, is said to have thrown them into the minister's hat, and to have familiarly returned them ten times before he would finally accept the resignation.

After his resignation, Walpole brought before the house, as 'a country gentleman,' a plan for reducing the national debt by means of a sinking fund, a measure which deserves notice as having affected latter ages. A sinking fund has lately been shown to be mere borrowing from one to pay to another, and therefore in principle fallacious; but the very ignorance of its real power gave it in the hands of Walpole two beneficial practical effects. First, the debts of government were calculated at an average to bear seven per cent. interest, while a sinking fund could be borrowed at four; and secondly, the promised advantages of the system raised the credit of government securities, and enabled the nation to dictate terms to creditors not anxious for immediate repayment. There is reason to believe that the acuteness of Walpole afterwards pointed out to him fallacies in the system which he did not think fit to acknowledge.[7] In 1733, in despite of a powerful and watchful opposition, he took from the sinking fund half a million for the current services, an act which Coxe and others have looked upon as the chief blot in his administration. "On this occasion," says his biographer, "he advanced this remarkable position, that the situation of the country, and the case of the public creditors, was altered so much since the establishment of the sinking fund, that the competition among them was not who should be the first, but who should be the last to be paid; an assertion which none of the opposition ventured to contradict, and therefore may be considered as true." The minister may have hesitated to add, that since promulgating the scheme, he had found reason to doubt the supposed omnipotence of compound interest, on which it was founded. Walpole, on resigning, made a candid declaration that he

[6] Swift's Works, vol. xvi. p. 302.
[7] Vide Hamilton on the National Debt, p. 97, &c.

would not impede the measures of a whig government; but either his passions or his interest forbade him to preserve his resolution, and he counteracted their measures in the purest spirit of 'an opposition;' but among other such acts, it must be recorded to his honour, that he opposed the bill, patronised by the king from a jealousy to his son, for limiting the number of peers and making Britain an aristocracy.

When it was proposed to sell the irredeemable annuities to the South sea society, Walpole was one of those few members who had presence of mind sufficient to maintain that offers should be accepted from the other trading companies before the dazzling measure was adopted, and he finally objected to treating with the South sea company in preference to the bank, from the former body being unlimited in the price of their stock. In the meantime, finding either that his foresight and opposition were dangerous enemies to their measures, or that he might be a useful aid, the ministry, on the 6th of May, 1720, restored him to his old post of paymaster of the forces. On the sudden fall of the price of stock, and the consequent dread of a national bankruptcy, Walpole was appealed to by the nation and the monarch as the only man capable of restoring confidence; and on his announcing a plan for the adjustment of the claims, stock rose to a price somewhat beyond its natural value, though far beneath that at which the insane avarice of the nation had previously ranked it. An attempt, without the sanction of legislative authority, to retrieve the credit of the company, by the bank agreeing to circulate a specified amount of the company's bonds for one year, having failed, (the bank resiling from the contract on the ground that the minute was deficient in legal formalities,) Walpole secured the adoption of his proposals by a legislative act, which sanctioned an agreement unwillingly entered into by the bank and the East India company, to ingraft with their own a portion of the stock of the South sea company. The suggestion of this plan was owing to Jacombe, under-secretary at war, and in the excitement which the house of commons suffered on the subject, it required all the tact and influence of Walpole to put it in practice. The projectors of the scheme, and the ministers who fostered it, were the opponents of Walpole, and he displayed the moderation or the foresight of his disposition in shielding them from the popular rage which doomed them to destruction. With some temporary sacrifice of popularity, he obtained the acquittal of Sunderland, on whose ruin he afterwards rose; and he was presently replaced, with his brother-in-law, at the head of the cabinet.

On the discovery of the machinations of the Jacobites in 1722, he had an opportunity of showing his moderation, when a leader of the councils, by merely giving additional protection to the Hanoverian dynasty, and driving from the country the factious priest who had lent the aid of his great talents to the conspiracy. Of the opposition over which Walpole had triumphed at the fall of the South sea scheme a remnant remained, from which arose a powerful and vigilant body of opponents who never permitted him to perform a ministerial act uncanvassed, and after the most protracted and bitter warfare ever known in political history, finally drove him from the helm. Carteret, who considered himself as the successor to the fallen interest of Sunderland and Stanhope, divided the cabinet against Walpole and Townshend; but

after a first unsuccessful attempt, through the influence of the mistresses of the king and the Hanoverian favourites, he sunk before their superior influence. Walpole, now in the height of his influence, having previously declined a peerage, which was bestowed on his son, was, just after the termination of the parliament in 1724, created a knight of the order of the bath, and in 1726 he was installed a knight of the garter, an ornament which had before been only conferred on one commoner. With some inconsistency, Walpole encouraged the return of Bolingbroke in 1725, and moved for the repeal of the bill of attainder which he had himself brought in in 1716. Whatever were his expectations from this measure he was disappointed; the brilliant Jacobite, chagrined at not being restored to the influence and rank of his lost peerage, became fretful and turbulent,—he joined in intrigues against the ministers, which they had power just sufficient to overcome,—and uniting the honesty he could assume, with that which was possessed by his coadjutor, Schippen, headed a party, which, without much prospect of overcoming without the aid of a rebellion, was still powerful enough to sting.

In the meantime danger was threatened to Walpole from a more distant quarter, which he dexterously parried. A new coinage of halfpence was requisite for Ireland, and the necessities of the province were made the medium of conferring a favour on the friend of a royal mistress. William Wood, a miner and proprietor of iron-works, obtained a patent to coin halfpence and farthings to the extent of £100,000 sterling. There is no doubt that the patentee would have performed the contract with honesty; but the national pride was roused at the kingly right over it as a conquered nation being put into the hands of a mechanic; and Swift, in the renowned 'Drapier's Letters,' roused the nation against the insult by representing the halfpence as deficient in value, turning gradually, after he had thus roused the feelings of the common people, to the real cause of grievance, the putting into the hands of foreigners the exercise of every description of influence in Ireland. The underlings of the government threatened in the name of their leader; but Swift shows a disposition to be courteous to Walpole, and allows so powerful a man to avoid the consequences, by personally acquitting him of connection with the act.[8] Walpole appears to have understood the hint, for he was not a man who would brave a nation for the defence of a dependant on his ministry. He approached the abolition of the patent by degrees, reducing the issue to £40,000, and finally contrived to send his rival Carteret, who had watched with pleasure the fomenting of disturbances, which might shake the stability of the minister, to settle the matter as lord-lieutenant of Ireland.[9] The good opinion of Swift towards Walpole was of short continuance; he had an interview with him, of which he has left a full account,[10] in which he endeavoured to lay before him the injustice and folly of treating Ireland in every respect as a conquered kingdom. The information was coldly and haughtily received,—a circumstance which has been accounted for on the authority of Sir Edward Walpole, by the minis-

[8] Drapier's Letters, No. 4. [9] Scott's Life of Swift, p. 295.
[10] See a Letter to the Earl of Peterborough, Works, chap. xvii. p. 67.

ters having intercepted a letter of the dean to Dr Arbuthnot, mentioning the means he was to use for gaining his end, and observing that he knew "no flattery was too gross for Walpole."[11]

The treaty of Vienna, supposed to have been so dangerous to the peace of Britain, involved Townshend and Walpole in much odium from the opposition; but the burden chiefly fell on the former, who better understood, and generally managed the foreign department. But a greater danger threatened the stability of Walpole's ascendancy from the death of George the First. As that monarch's prime minister, he was compelled to oppose the prince, and is said to have volunteered some expressions of contempt towards him, which were duly retailed and exaggerated. For several days in the opening of the new reign, he incurred the neglect of a discharged minister. But his powers in supporting a civil list were known to the king, and he had obtained a firm friend in the person of the queen, to whom, among his other means of recommending himself, it must not be forgot that he offered a jointure of £100,000 a-year, while his rival, Sir Spencer Compton, could not venture to offer more than £60,000. Sir Spencer yielded the post to the superior powers of his rival, and Walpole was once more at the head of the treasury. From the accession of George the Second, Walpole, from his personal influence at court, was virtually the sole prime minister, and the power of Townshend gradually decreasing, jealousies and contentions originated between the two brothers. An unministerial scene which took place during a dinner party at the house of Colonel Selwyn—in which a remark by Walpole, hinting a distrust of the sincerity of Townshend, roused that fiery nobleman to a threat of personal violence—finally terminated their intercourse. Townshend left the cabinet with an honour almost unsullied, and never condescended to indulge in opposition. From the period when Walpole ruled the cabinet to his resignation, his acts are so entirely the events of history, and so well known as leading features of the times, that a brief biographical notice can only glance at such as are most broadly shaded by his personal character, and the principles with which he governed. In 1733 he formed the celebrated plan of extending the method of collecting revenue by excise, to the duties on wine and tobacco. Sir William Wyndham, and Pulteney, who, by his vast wealth and his talents as a party-debater, now stood foremost and greatest in the opposition, became aware of his views, and sounded the trumpet of alarm through the land; the various speakers of the opposition obscurely hinted at a plan devised, and about to be produced, for the secret destruction of British liberty, and Walpole was compelled to divulge his plan before he was prepared to attempt a legislative measure on its principles. The great leading causes for the alteration he maintained to be the partiality of the existent system, the opportunities of evasion, and the necessary venality of the public officers. The whole oratory of the opposition was thundered forth in denunciation of the scheme,—the clamours without were loud and ominous,—and it was finally dropped: the minister, for the purpose of keeping himself in office, making a practical admission of the great principle, that even a system which the propounders of it may consider unexceptionably excellent, must not be enforced

[11] Letters and Miscellaneous Papers of Paire Charles Roberts, pp. 20, 21.

against the general voice of a people. Along with the financial measure, one which can more unhesitatingly be pronounced salutary to the commercial interests of the country, was lost for a period—the system of bonding imported goods for payment of the duties; and in the full enjoyment of this great facility to commerce, the British public have at this day to thank Sir Robert Walpole for the best gift he has left to posterity. It was generally the object of the opposition to propose motions, the rejection of which would involve the minister in odium or unpopularity,—and in admitting or opposing them, the minister had to choose whichever side was most conducive to the government in being, and at the same time sure of a majority. "It will be advisable," says a memorandum by one who bitterly opposed the minister, "to propose easy whig points,—to bring off honest well-meaning people,—and render others inexcusable, such as a reasonable place-bill to exclude those of lower ranks in the treasury and revenue, such as clerks, &c. from sitting in the house of commons. A bill to make the officers of the army for life, or *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, or broke by a council of war."[12] These patriotic principles were diligently pursued and opposed in a corresponding spirit. To have admitted either the place or the pension-bill to pass, would have struck a deadly blow at that system of influence which Walpole had so adroitly framed to succeed the arbitrary power of the crown. The pension-bill passed the commons in 1730, but was thrown out by the lords; and the minister finding such a plan likely to save a share of his popularity, the place-bill, when introduced in a later period of his administration, "was not opposed, because out of decency it is generally suffered to pass the commons, but is thrown out in the lords."[13] The attempt to deprive government of the power of dismissing officers in the army he likewise resisted, for he had made use of the power, and had not hesitated to discharge those who opposed him. To the repeal of the test act—a measure attempted not only by the opposition whigs, but in the very purest spirit of party, and by the tories also—he appears to have had no other objection but the danger of offending the church, and is said to have been personally partial to the measure. He was in the habit of telling the dissenters, that whatever were his private inclinations on the matter, the attempt was improper, and the time was not yet arrived. "You have so repeatedly returned this answer," replied Dr Chandler, principal of a deputation of the dissenters, "that I trust you will give me leave to ask you when the time will come?" "If you require a specific answer," said the minister, "I will give it you in a word,—never." His ingenuity enabled him, however, by the annual act of indemnity, to save the dissenters from oppression, and to preserve the church of England from a dangerous odium, while its supremacy was fully admitted.

At length, after baffled efforts and repeated disappointments, the opposition began gradually to undermine the great power so long assailed in vain. The death of Queen Caroline, in 1737, struck the first sure blow at Walpole's influence, and the enmity of the prince regent served as a marked rallying point to his opponents. In 1738, when the alleged outrages of the Spaniards on British ships roused the popular feeling of

[12] Memorandum in the handwriting of Alexander, Earl of Marchmont. Marchmont Papers, vol. ii. p. 14.

[13] Horace Walpole to Horace Mann.

the country, and the opposition loudly joined in their cry for war, Walpole—whose great, but too little commended, merit was the desire of peace—resisted hostilities, and attempted negotiations which failed. With a divided cabinet he at last consented to a war, which simply kept him in place. All allow that at that period he would have spared his fame by resigning. On the 15th of February, 1741, Sandys prefaced with a long and plausible speech, a motion for an address to remove the minister. All the power of both sides was employed in the debate. The motion was lost by a large majority, but it effectually shook the minister's stability. With all the influence of the crown and of his own wealth, both of which he unhesitatingly used, the next elections were unfavourable. Questions, as to controverted elections, which were then not of law but of party, were decided in favour of the opposition. On the 9th of February, 1742, he was created earl of Orford, and on the 11th he resigned. On the motion of Lord Limerick, a secret committee was appointed to examine into the last ten years of his ministry. He was accused of having made use of the secret service-money in influencing elections. The persons through whose hands the money passed refused to answer questions, and a bill of indemnity was thrown out in the lords, so that the accusation must be considered as 'not proved.' He was accused of influencing the elections by the patronage of government, and certain distinct acts were adduced, which his biographer has been pleased to term "petty abuses of power." He was accused of having enriched himself at the public expense. His biographer maintains, and his son solemnly assures us,[14] that the vast sums he spent were derived entirely from his paternal estate, his salary as paymaster, and a fortunate speculation in the South sea funds. The accusations against him were pursued no farther than an inquiry. Sir Robert was privately consulted by the king for some time after his resignation, and he had influence sufficient to perplex the new ministers, and to baffle his ancient enemy Pulteney. But he gradually ceased to be useful even for such services as these. His resignation was not the retirement of the high-minded statesman, who would not yield to his opponents; he stuck to office until his hands lost their hold with feebleness. The consciousness of fallen greatness, and the loss of his long-accustomed labours, preyed upon his mind, and disease made ravages on his body. When the cares of Europe were upon his shoulders he slept soundly; but now he was watchful and restless. In his letters to Sir Horace Mann, his son frequently paints a melancholy picture of his state. "I cannot say I think he will preserve his life long, as he has laid aside all exercise, which has been of such vast service to him. He talked the other day of shutting himself up in the farthest wing of Houghton. I said, my dear lord, you will be at a distance from all the family there; he replied, 'so much the better.' Speaking of Smitsart, the Dutch general, who said 'he was too old to be hanged;' 'this reply,' he continues, 'was told to my father yesterday; ay,' said he, 'so I thought I was; but I may live to be mistaken.'"[15]

Sir Robert Walpole died on the 18th of March, 1745, in the 69th year of his age. The character of his administration cannot be better or more briefly told than in the words of Hume:—"His ministry has

[14] Nichol's Literary Anecdotes. [15] Vol. ii. pp. 14, 18.

been more advantageous for his family than to the public,—better for this age than for posterity,—and more pernicious for bad precedents than real grievances." [16]

James, Duke of Ormond.

BORN A. D. 1665.—DIED A. D. 1745.

JAMES, son of Thomas, earl of Ossory, and grandson of James, twelfth earl and first duke of Ormond, was born on the 29th of April, 1665. He succeeded to the dukedom on the death of his grandfather, in 1688. He was actively concerned in bringing about the Revolution, and fought with great gallantry at the battle of the Boyne. He subsequently obtained the command of a body of troops, destined to secure the quiet of Dublin; and, during the campaign of 1693, he served as one of the king's aides-de-camp at the battle of Landen, where he was severely wounded. He had now become a great favourite with William III., whose confidence he enjoyed during the remainder of that monarch's life.

On the accession of Queen Anne, he lost none of his influence at court. In 1702 he was appointed, jointly with Admiral Rooke, to the command of the forces sent out against Cadiz and Vigo. His conduct in this expedition won for him the thanks of both houses of parliament, and rendered him for a time much more popular than his colleague in command. In 1703 he was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Having adopted the views of his predecessor, his measures soon rendered him generally unpopular in that country. The Irish parliament, with which he was on very bad terms, severely annoyed him, by ordering an inspection of the public accounts;—"for," says Burnet, "though he was generous, and above all sordid practices himself, yet, being a man of pleasure, he was much in the power of those who acted under him, and whose integrity was not so clear."

In 1705 he is said to have fomented the divisions between the protestants and catholics, and to have rendered himself deservedly obnoxious to both parties. During the latter part of his vicegerency, which continued until 1711, he appears to have not only favoured the high church party, but to have laid himself open to a suspicion of encouraging the adherents of James Frederick. At the termination of his vicegerency—in which, notwithstanding the general obnoxious character of his measures, he had displayed some redeeming good qualities, that rendered him occasionally, or rather locally popular—he joined in the parliamentary clamour against the duke of Marlborough. He was soon afterwards appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces in Great Britain; and, in April, 1712, was sent out to succeed the hero of Blenheim, as captain-general of the army in Flanders. His conduct in this command was singularly unprincipled. He received positive orders from the queen not to hazard a battle, yet he assured the Dutch authorities that it was his intention to prosecute the war with all the vigour in his power; but, on a favourable opportunity to attack the enemy

[16] Character of Sir Robert Walpole, vol. iii. p. 30.

occurring, he not only refused to march towards them, but declared that he would abandon the allies unless they consented to a cessation of arms. This conduct, while it greatly incensed the confederates, was secretly agreeable to Queen Anne; by whom, on his return to England, the duke was received in a very flattering manner. He continued to be a great favourite with the multitude, and, about this period, increased the sphere of his popularity by zealously encouraging literature and the arts. In June, 1713, he was appointed governor of Dover-castle and warden of the cinque-ports; and in addition to these valuable sinecures, he obtained a grant of £5000 per annum for fifteen years out of the Irish revenue.

The more auspicious part of the duke's career terminated on the death of Queen Anne. The new monarch refused to admit him to the privy chamber, and dismissed him from his post as captain-general of the forces; but a pitiful attempt was subsequently made to allay his resentment, by appointing him a member of the Irish privy council, and giving him an invitation to make his appearance at court. He was still the darling of the mob. On his birth-day, in 1715, the streets of the metropolis were thronged by large bodies of his admirers, who severely assaulted all such as refused to join in their shouts of "Ormond for ever!" On the 28th of May, in the same year, riots of a more alarming character took place; the populace, on this occasion, mixing religion with politics, vociferated, "High church and Ormond!" It was supposed that these disorderly acts were secretly encouraged by the duke: threats of an impeachment were, consequently, held out to him by ministers; but blind to the probable consequences of his folly, he continued to render himself offensive to government, until, at length, the menaces which he had despised were actually carried into effect.

The turbulence of his spirit, and his greediness for applause, led him to commit a number of absurdities, for which the moderate portion of his friends in vain endeavoured to excuse him. About the middle of June the following advertisement appeared in the public prints, without the least foundation, it is suspected, for the purpose of exciting the feelings of the populace in his favour:—"On Tuesday the 7th instant, her Grace, the dutchess of Ormond, on her return from Richmond, was stopped in her coach by three persons in disguise, well-armed and mounted, who asked if the duke was in the coach, and seemed to have a design on his life; and it has been observed, that many armed persons lurk about in the Richmond road, both day and night, no doubt with a view to assassinate him." On the 21st of June, after a debate of nine hours' duration, in which several of his friends spoke warmly in his favour, he was impeached by a majority of forty-seven. On the 5th of August, articles of impeachment were exhibited against him, for having treacherously neglected to fight the enemies of England, while he was captain-general of the forces in Flanders, &c. Being consequently attainted of high treason, his name was erased from the list of peers. On the 12th of November, in the same year, the Irish parliament not only attainted him, but offered a reward of £10,000 for his head.

It appears that he felt desirous of personally engaging in the rebellion of 1715, having actually embarked for England on receiving intelligence of the insurrection, and hovered for several days about the

coast, but without being able to effect a landing. In 1716–17 he made an unsuccessful attempt to induce the king of Sweden—who had affected great consideration for the pretender—to invade England with an army of Swedes. In 1718–19 the Spanish government determined on making an attempt to place James Frederick on the British throne. An armament, consisting of ten sail of the line, and numerous transports, with six thousand regular troops, and twelve thousand stand of arms for the pretender's English and Scotch adherents, was accordingly fitted out at Cadiz, and placed under the duke of Ormond's command. Rumours of the intended invasion having reached this country, the house of commons addressed the king to offer a reward of £5000 for the duke's apprehension. The Jacobites eagerly prepared for his landing; and great alarm appears to have prevailed among the more loyal classes of his majesty's subjects. But the expedition was unsuccessful. Many of the transports drifted ashore and went to pieces,—most of the troops were rendered unserviceable,—and the duke, after having narrowly escaped shipwreck, was compelled to return to Cadiz without having seen an enemy, but utterly discomfited by the elements.

In 1722 a Jacobite, named Layer, was executed for having partly, it is said, at the instigation of Ormond, attempted to enlist a body of recruits for the service of the pretender in Essex. In 1726 the duke appears to have made some fruitless efforts to engage the Spanish government in a new project for the invasion of this country. From this period he gradually dwindled in importance. He spent the remainder of his life chiefly at Avignon, in melancholy indolence, wholly subsisting on a pension from Spain of 2000 pistoles per annum. His death took place on the 16th of November, in the memorable year 1745.

The duke married at rather an early period of his public career; but he left no children by his wife, for whom, although they lived upon tolerable terms, he appears to have entertained but very little affection. He was principally indebted for that importance which he so long enjoyed to his rank and connexions. His abilities were good, but not splendid;—his morals in private life, and his principles as a public character, were equally lax,—his judgment was evidently weak, and his vanity contemptible. He has been praised for his fidelity to the pretender; but it does not appear that he ever received any temptation to be treacherous to James Frederick, or that he could have bettered himself by abandoning the Jacobite cause.

John, Earl of Stair.

BORN A. D. 1673.—DIED A. D. 1747.

THIS celebrated general and accomplished statesman was the eldest son of John Dalrymple, created, for his services at the Revolution, first viscount, and afterwards earl of Stair. His mother was Lady Elizabeth Dundas, daughter of Sir John Dundas of Newliston. He was early sent to the college of Edinburgh under a guardian, and had run through the whole course of his studies at the fourteenth year of his age. He was designed by his father for the law; but his passion for the military life was unconquerable. He left Edinburgh in 1687, and went over to

Holland, where he passed through the first military gradations under the eye of the prince of Orange. About this time he learned the French, Spanish, German, Italian, and Dutch languages, all of which he spoke with great purity.

At the Revolution he came over to Scotland, where he performed the most substantial services for the prince of Orange. He was amongst the first to declare for King William; and went up with his father to London to pay his homage to the deliverer, by whom he was most graciously received. He attended the king to Ireland, and also accompanied him to Holland, in the beginning of the year 1691. Upon this occasion his majesty conferred a colonel's commission upon Mr Dalrymple. In this capacity he served under his great commander at the battle of Steenkirk, fought on the 3d of August, 1692. No British officer signalized himself more in this engagement than Colonel Dalrymple. He several times rallied his regiment when the ranks were broken by the cannon, and brought them back to the charge, and was instrumental in saving many of the troops from being cut in pieces, as he stopped the pursuit till they could rally and renew the attack.

From this time to the year 1702, we have no accounts of Colonel Dalrymple; but, in the campaign of that year, we find him taking a vigorous part in the expulsion of the French from Spanish Guelderland. Marlborough honoured Colonel Dalrymple with his particular notice, though, by national prejudice, not very fond of encouraging Scotsmen. The duke promoted our hero to be colonel of the Royal North British dragoons. At the assault on the citadel of Venloo, when the fort of Chartreuse was taken by the allies, Colonel Dalrymple had the happiness to save the life of the prince of Hesse-Cassel, afterwards king of Sweden, who, in wresting the colours from a French officer, was upon the point of being cut down by a grenadier, when Dalrymple shot the assailant dead upon the spot with his pistol. He subsequently became aid-de-camp to Marlborough; and, after the battle of Hockstet, was appointed colonel of the Scotch Greys.

When the success of the British arms in Flanders obliged Louis XIV. to sue for peace, and the duke of Marlborough had returned home in March, 1709, he took occasion to introduce Colonel Dalrymple to her majesty, as an officer who had performed the most signal services in the campaign in the Low Countries. Soon after this he succeeded to the title of Earl of Stair by the death of his father; and the queen, as a reward for his military conduct, and as a first essay of his political abilities, was pleased to appoint him her ambassador-extraordinary to Augustus II., king of Poland. The success of this negotiation was owing, in a great measure, to the amiable qualities of the earl of Stair, by which he gained the entire confidence and esteem of the king of Poland, who entered heartily into all the measures of the allies. His lordship remained four years at the Polish court; in which time he formed an intimate acquaintance with most of the foreign ambassadors, and framed to himself a clear idea of the interests of the several courts in the north. He is thought by some to have been the first, who, by means of the duke of Marlborough, projected the renunciation of Bremen and Verden, on the part of the king of Denmark, in favour of George I.

He was called home in 1713, when he was stripped off all his em-

ployments. Having lived very splendidly at Warsaw, he had contracted debts, which at that time lay heavy upon him. His plate and equipage would have been arrested, if one Mr Lawson, who had been a lieutenant in a Cameronian regiment, had not generously lent him the sum of £1800. It is hard to say whether Mr Lawson's friendship, or the earl of Stair's gratitude ever after, was most to be admired. He did not remain long in retirement, for, upon the accession of George I., he was received into favour; and, on the 28th of October, 1714, was appointed one of the lords of the bed-chamber; the next day he was sworn one of the privy-council, and, in November, was made commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in Scotland.

The scene now changed in favour of the duke of Marlborough, whose friends were, for the most part, chosen to represent the counties and boroughs in the parliament that was summoned to meet on the 17th of March, 1715. In Scotland the opposers of the former ministry prevailed, and the earl of Stair was elected one of the sixteen peers to sit in the first septennial parliament. Ambassadors were now sent to the several courts in Europe to notify the king's accession; and, as the French court was both the most splendid and most intriguing, it was requisite to fix upon an ambassador of address and deep penetration The person thought of by the duke of Marlborough and by the king himself, was Lord Stair, who was intrusted with discretionary powers.

He set out for Paris in January, 1715, and, in a few days after, entered that capital in so splendid a manner, that the proud old monarch considered it as an insult offered to him in his own capital, that a petty prince, whom, only a few months before, he had entertained hopes of depriving of even his electoral title and dominions in Germany, should, upon his ascending a throne so unexpectedly, authorise his ambassador to make a more splendid appearance than the minister of any potentate had ever done before at Paris. Stair was not many days in Paris, however, before an opportunity offered of confirming his royal master in the good opinion he had formed of him.

By the ninth article of the treaty of Utrecht, it was expressly stipulated that the harbour of Dunkirk should be filled up, and that the dykes which form the canal and moles should be destroyed. There had been a pretended execution of this article, but nothing like fulfilling of the treaty, and the king had ordered a haven and canal to be made at Mardyke, of much greater extent than those of Dunkirk itself. Mr Prior, the former ambassador, had complained of this, and insisted that the treaty should be fulfilled; but an answer full of the most evasive arguments had been given. As the matter still continued open, the earl of Stair laid a clear representation of the case before the French ministry, and with uncommon address and vigilance got to the bottom of the secret machinations of the French court, and transmitted home such early and exact intelligence concerning the intended invasion, that the pretender's enterprise failed, and a great number of his abettors in England were taken into custody. Various stories are told concerning the methods made use of by the earl of Stair to procure such important secret intelligence, most of them calculated to amuse the reader by agreeable fictions at the expense of historical truth. The real fact, as it stands authenticated on record, is, that the earl of Stair was master of the most insinuating address, and knew how to apply a

bribe properly. By the influence of both, he gained over an English Roman Catholic priest, named Strickland, who was one of the pretender's chaplains, and his chief confidant. By means of this spy, Lord Stair knew every project formed in the pretender's council; and from the same quarter he obtained a list of the French officers who had engaged to accompany him to Scotland, with an exact account of the quantity of arms, ammunition, and provisions, to be furnished by the French ministry. Stair at the same time made such strong representations to the regent, that his royal highness saw that to remove all suspicions, and preserve the friendship of Great Britain, to which he was strongly inclined, he must be obliged to alter his policy: he therefore answered, "That he would forbid the exportation of any arms or ammunition out of the kingdom, and that he should send such orders to all the ports in France, as his Britannic majesty desired; together with proper instructions to the captains of such vessels as were bound for any part of Scotland." The success of this negotiation contributed greatly to the suppression of the rebellion; for, when the insurgents found themselves deprived of the powerful succours they had been promised from France, their courage failed them, and they began to disperse. No sooner did the news of this reach the earl of Stair, than he repaired to the regent, and completely put an end to the pretender's hopes by reducing the regent to the necessity of declaring himself once for all. There was no medium; he must either satisfy Great Britain by refusing the pretender a retreat in France, or absolutely break with a prince whose friendship might be of service to him, for the sake of a guest who was both useless to him and his friends, and troublesome to those who protected him. By the advice of the Abbé du Bois, he therefore gave the earl of Stair a most explicit and satisfactory answer, after having acquainted the pretender with his resolution, who immediately retired to Avignon. A good understanding was now established between the courts of Versailles and London, highly agreeable to the latter, as it gave the new sovereign an opportunity of inspecting and regulating the domestic administration of government. The earl of Stair's conduct upon this occasion gained him the esteem of the duke of Orleans, now declared regent during the minority of Louis XV. But neither adulations nor civilities could put him off his guard, or relax his attention to the interests of his royal master, as the following anecdote testifies.

One day, the regent, attended by a splendid retinue, went in his coach to pay the earl a visit. The coach halted at the gate of the ambassador's hotel, but when the earl of Stair descended from his apartment, the regent only partly alighted from his coach, setting one foot on the ground and keeping the other fixed on the step. The earl, in the meantime, was advancing towards the gate; but observing the posture the regent was in, he stopped short, turned about, walked three or four times backward and forward, and at last asked one of the attendants, "Whether his royal highness was come to visit him as his Britannic majesty's ambassador, or as earl of Stair?" To which receiving no answer, he added, "If he comes to see Lord Stair, I shall reckon it my greatest honour to receive any one officer of the crown, much more the duke-regent, at the door of his coach; but if he comes to visit the ambassador of my august and royal master, I think I should be unworthy the trust reposed in me, if I went farther than I have done."

This being told the regent, he re-entered his coach, and afterwards caused it to be notified to his excellency, that he was not desirous of seeing him at court; and, for some months, Stair actually withdrew; till, hearing of the regent's fitting out a strong squadron at Toulon, which the court of Britain could not look on with indifference, he went to court, and brought about an interview with the regent in the following manner. The guards knowing him, declared they had orders to refuse him admittance. "Oh!" says he, "though the British ambassador be debarred access, yet Lord Stair is not." On this he was allowed to enter, and having passed the first guard he hastened through the others, and entered the presence-chamber, where the king and regent were, surrounded by a vast number of nobility, gentry, foreign ambassadors, and general officers. No sooner did the regent observe the earl than he withdrew to an inner chamber, whither, however, he was followed by his lordship, who, as he entered the room, told him, that if at present he denied him audience, perhaps in time he might be glad to have one in his turn. On this the regent and he entered into conversation for two hours. His royal highness perceiving, that nothing, though ever so secretly transacted, could be kept from so prying an ambassador, and that one-half of the French nation were, through poverty, become spies upon the other, he made a merit of discovering the whole plan of the Spanish minister to Lord Stair. It was deeply laid, and we shall endeavour to give a concise account of it, that the reader may be made acquainted with the political history of the first years of the reign of George I., in which the earl of Stair was the principal agent.

Though Philip V., the grandson of the late king of France, was, by the treaty of Utrecht, allowed to reign peaceably over the ruins of the Spanish monarchy, yet neither he nor his ministers were content with the terms obtained. Cardinal Alberoni, the then Spanish minister, knew very well, that though the emperor, by the late treaty, was put in possession of Sicily and Flanders, and secured in his other vast dominions, he was yet so far drained of his treasure by the last war as to have no great inclination to a rupture; he judged the same of the other powers engaged; and thinking that Great Britain had obtained too advantageous terms at the last general pacification, his aim was to give her a king who would be apt to relinquish every advantage in gratitude for the favours done him. But as Spain was unable alone to accomplish so great a project, the cardinal thought of gaining over Charles XII. of Sweden, with the czar of Muscovy, to his views. The former was easily brought into the scheme, from a prospect of regaining Bremen and Verden, the investment of which had been given to George I. by the emperor. In connexion with this scheme, Baron Goertz, the Swedish minister to the states-general, and one of the ablest statesmen in Europe, had twice an interview with the czar at the Hague, and having informed him that he had got considerable sums from the disaffected in England to buy ships and ammunition for invading Scotland, the Russian monarch went in person to Paris in May, 1717, and, under the pretext of visiting the academy, the arsenals, the chambers of rarities, and every thing that might excite the attention of the curious, conferred with the regent upon the intended scheme. The conference with the czar, was, by the regent's secretary, communicated to the British ambassador, who directly acquainted his court, and such active

measures were instantly taken as rendered the scheme impracticable; at the same time, a letter from Count Gyllenburgh, the Swedish envoy at London, to his brother, Gustavus, then ambassador in France, having fallen into the earl of Stair's hands, he transmitted it to the British ministry, by whom Count Gyllenburgh was arrested, and most of his papers seized, in which were many letters from and to Baron Goertz. From these it appeared plainly that an invasion was designed.

But these were not the only attempts in favour of the unhappy fugitive, that were defeated through Stair's means. He likewise had a principal share in bringing about the quadruple alliance, offensive and defensive, between his Britannic majesty, the emperor, the most christian king, and the states-general of the United Provinces, by which the designs of the court of Madrid were totally defeated. However, the cardinal now openly received and entertained the pretender at the court of Madrid; and, in hopes of making a powerful diversion in Hungary, he attacked the emperor, and fomented disturbances in the British dominions. Having likewise formed a design of seizing the island of Sicily, he fitted out a fleet for that purpose; and, in July 1718, this Spanish armament took several considerable places in the island. But while they were busily employed in attacking the citadel of Messina, the British fleet came to the assistance of the Sicilians, and, on the 11th of August, attacked twenty-seven Spanish ships of the line, off Cape Passaro; after an obstinate engagement, the English took and sunk most of them, and soon after the king of Sicily acceded to the quadruple alliance. This blow so much chagrined the court of Spain, that an order was issued for seizing all British merchant-ships, and effects in that kingdom. His majesty, George I., thereupon granted letters of marque and reprisals to the British subjects against those of Spain, on the 3d of October; and on the 17th, war was declared against Spain. The Spanish court was, at this time, the most intriguing in Europe; for she not only endeavoured to disturb the tranquillity of Britain, but likewise of France, for which purpose, the prince of Cellamare, her ambassador at Paris, had entered into a conspiracy with some mutineers, to whom he gave pensions. The design was, to take away the regent's life; to make an inroad into four provinces of the kingdom; to gain over the French ministry to the Spanish interest; and thus pave a way for uniting the whole, or at least the greatest part, of the French dominions, with those of the younger branch of the house of Bourbon reigning in Spain. The scheme might have taken place, and have rekindled a general war, if it had not been discovered in the following extraordinary manner.—Two noblemen, who were intrusted with a packet from the Spanish ambassador, in France, to Cardinal Alberoni, containing a relation of the progress he had made with some noblemen, took a chaise, which broke down about two leagues from Paris. The postilion, observing them to take more care of their portmanteau than of themselves, and struck with the remark of one of them, that he would rather lose one hundred thousand pistoles than it, after driving them to the end of the first stage, hastened to Paris, and gave immediate notice of what he had seen to the government. The council of regency being instantly called, proper officers were immediately sent off, with orders to stop them; which they effect-

ed at Poictiers, and not only arrested their persons, but sent their portmanteau to Paris, in which were found the plainest marks of a conspiracy. The same night several persons of distinction were seized, and sent to the Bastile; and the Spanish ambassador was commanded to leave the kingdom. The Abbé du Bois, secretary of state, wrote a circular letter, the next day, to the several ministers residing at the French court, and particularly to the earl of Stair, acquainting him with the motives which induced them to take this step. Soon after this, a declaration of war was made by France against Spain; and although it was looked upon rather as fictitious than real, yet the burning of six new men-of-war upon the stocks at Los-passages, and the taking of some towns, put the matter of France's being in earnest beyond all possibility of doubt.

But no disappointments could check the restless spirit of the cardinal, who still fomented the tumultuous passions of the British rebels; many of the most considerable of whom had retired into the dominions of his master. The duke of Ormond, in particular, having received notice to leave France, upon an application made to the regent for that purpose, Alberoni pressed him to repair to Madrid. This invitation was kept a profound secret, but there were some people about the duke who thought proper to communicate the design to their correspondents in Paris; and these having shown their letters to one Macdonald, a lieutenant-colonel in the Irish brigades, he handed them about, till at last it came to the ears of the British ambassador, who sent Captain Gardiner express, with an account, that the preparations of the Spaniards at Cadiz were certainly designed against England, and that their fleets would put to sea the 7th or 8th of March 1718. This piece of intelligence was communicated by the king to parliament; and every military preparation was made by land and at sea to oppose the invasion, which might have proved very formidable, if the enemies of their country had not met with a check from another quarter.

The duke of Ormond, with 5000 land forces on board, having provisions, ammunition, and every other necessary, had embarked for the west of England; but, meeting with a storm off Cape Finisterre, they were separated. His Grace, with most of the English and Irish officers, were obliged to put back to Cadiz; while the earls of Marshal and Seaforth, and the marquess of Tullibardin, pursued their voyage, and landed at Kintail, in the north of Scotland, on the 15th of April, with about 400 Spanish troops. They were very uneasy to know the fate of the duke of Ormond, and deferred moving from thence till they should hear what was become of his Grace; but, before any certain accounts arrived of his disappointment, General Wightman was in march to disperse them, having with him two Swiss and three Dutch battalions, 120 dragoons, and about 350 foot soldiers. He came up with them on the pretender's birthday, at the pass of Glenshiel, where the M'Kenzies were stationed on one side, the marquess of Tullibardin, with the laird of M'Doual, upon the other; and the Spaniards intrenched in their front, making in all 1650. No sooner did they enter the pass, than the rebels, who lay concealed among the heath, poured in upon them a volley, and killed the colonel of a Dutch regiment upon the spot. General Wightman, observing the matter, ordered some hand-grenades to be thrown in among them, which fired the heath; and one

of the splinters wounding Seaforth in the wrist, his clan carried him off, and at the same time retired in the greatest confusion. The rebels placed in the right hand of the pass having given way, those on the left made off full speed, deserting the Spaniards, who were all made prisoners. This was the last effort in favour of the old pretender during the reign of George I.

During the remainder of the reign of George I. Stair was one of the cabinet council; and, on George the Second's ascending the throne, he was received into the same confidence.

In April 1730, he was made lord-admiral of Scotland, which, with his other posts, he held till April 1733, when he fell into disgrace at court, upon the occasion of bringing in a bill for changing the duties upon tobacco and wine, and bringing them under the laws of excise, in order to prevent frauds in the revenue. This affair was greatly disliked by the trading part of the nation. Among the number of those who opposed it in the house of peers, was the earl of Stair. A little time after, he resigned all his places into his majesty's hands; as did the Lord Cobham, the duke of Bolton, the earl of Chesterfield, the earl of Burlington, and many others. In June 1734, he appeared at the general elections in his native country; and as the party who had sided with Sir Robert Walpole in promoting the excise scheme had been at great pains to carry the elections of Scotland, he was the first to enter a protest against the minister's interference, and because the military, who, by act of parliament, ought to be moved some miles from the place of election, were, nevertheless, under arms at no farther distance than half a mile. During his retirement from court, he was visited by the nobility from all quarters; he corresponded with several generals abroad, and with some of those noblemen in England who had resigned at the same time with himself. But a change in the ministry, which took place in 1741, rendered his presence necessary at court.

The British merchants had long complained that letters of marque had been issued out from the Spanish admiralty, against British ships, under pretence of searching for contraband goods and passports. Numerous representations had been made upon this head at Madrid; several conferences were held upon the subject; and at last a convention was signed on the 4th of January, 1739, in which Spain agreed to pay £95,000, to compensate the losses sustained by the British subjects. This affair might have been amicably terminated, had not Spain mustered up a claim of £68,000 upon the African company, concerning the negroes; and refused to pay the £95,000, till the £68,000 were deducted. In consequence of fresh insults, on the 23d of October, 1739, war was declared against Spain. Admiral Vernon, who had been sent to the West Indies to protect our trade, took Porto Bello on the 22d of November, and received 30,000 piastres as a ransom for not pillaging the town. On the 1st of April, 1740, he sailed for Carthagena, whose out-works he took, but failed in an attack upon the place itself. About a year after the beginning of the war with Spain, the emperor Charles VI. died on the 9th of October, 1740; on which day, his eldest daughter, late empress-dowager, and mother to the present emperor, was proclaimed queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and archduchess of Austria. Her ministers at the several courts

of Europe notified her accession, but the elector of Bavaria claimed the crown for himself. The troops of his electorate marched, in September, 1741, in support of his claim, and were followed by 30,000 French forces, under pretence of securing the free election of an emperor, according to the treaty of Westphalia, of which their king was the guarantee. On the other hand, his Britannic majesty supported the Pragmatic sanction, and opposed the election of an emperor by the influence of the court of Versailles.

During the winter of 1741, the armies were active abroad; Lintz, and a few other places, were taken by the Austrians, who gained some advantages in the field. At home, the parliament was taken up with examining into the merits of elections; many of which being carried against Sir Robert Walpole, he resigned his place into his majesty's hands; on which a total change ensued in the ministry. A resolution was taken for supporting the queen of Hungary, and restoring the balance of power, which must have been entirely destroyed, if the treaty for dividing the dominions of the house of Austria had succeeded, according to the proposal of France. In consequence of this resolution, three hundred thousand pounds were voted to her Hungarian majesty; and a considerable body of British troops were sent to Flanders, the command of which, as also of the Hanoverians and Hessians, was given to the earl of Stair. In March, 1742, he was made field-marshal of his majesty's forces, and ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the states-general.

His lordship instantly applied himself to the management of the important business committed to him; and knowing that he had to deal with the ambassadors of Spain, France, and the new emperor, he assiduously studied their memorials, and prepared replies to them before he set out for Holland, where, on the 10th of April, five days after his arrival, being conducted to a public audience of their High Mightinesses, he made them a very spirited harangue, which had the desired effect of engaging them in the queen's cause. This memorial was followed by another of the 18th of August, in which the pressing applications of the queen of Hungary, for assistance from his Britannic majesty, against a powerful French army, were laid down, and the pitful artifices of the French detected. Suffice it to say, the earl of Stair at length brought about a general pacification, but not till after the battle of Dettingen, where he, for the last time, distinguished himself, in concert with King George II., as a general of undaunted bravery and intrepidity. Soon after this action he petitioned to resign, which being granted, he again returned to the pleasures of a country life; but ever ready to serve his king and country, upon the breaking out of the rebellion in 1745, he repaired to court, and offered his service to suppress it, which was gladly accepted. He accompanied the duke of Cumberland to Edinburgh. After the suppression of this insurrection, he continued at court till the winter of the year, 1746, when he repaired to Scotland, finding himself in a languishing condition, and unfit for business. On the 7th of May, 1747, he breathed out a life which had been spent in eminent services to his country. The earl of Stair, in person, was about six feet high. He was, perhaps, one of the handsomest men of his time, and remarkable, among the nobility, for his graceful mien and majestic appearance. His complexion was fair, but rather comely

than delicate; his forehead was large and graceful, his nose straight and exquisitely proportioned to his face. As a diplomatist, Lord Stair was without a rival in his day.

Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset.

BORN A. D. 1662.—DIED A. D. 1748.

The proud duke of Somerset, as he is commonly called, belongs to the period now under consideration, as far as his political character is concerned; for after the imaginary affront which he received from George I., the particulars of which will be related presently, he accepted of no office at court, and nearly retired altogether from public life.

He was born on the 12th of August, 1662, and succeeded his brother Francis, fifth duke of Somerset,[1] on the murder of the latter at Lerice, in 1678.[1] In 1682, he married the lady Elizabeth, sole daughter and heiress of Joseeline Percy, the last earl of Northumberland. It was stipulated on this occasion, that the duke should relinquish the name of Seymour, for that of Percy, after his marriage; but his dutchess released him from the obligation.

At the death of Charles II. Seymour was one of the privy-councillors who signed the proclamation of James II.; but he soon fell into disgrace at court, in consequence of his stern refusal to introduce Dada, nuncio from Pope Innocent XI., to an audience at Windsor. In 1688, he succeeded Monk, duke of Albemarle, in the chancellorship of Cambridge university; and, in the same year, he declared for the prince of Orange, on his landing in England. During William's reign, he was for some time president of the council; he was also one of the lords of the regency in 1701.

In January, 1711, his dutchess succeeded her grace of Marlborough, in the high offices which the latter held about the person of Queen Anne; but neither she nor her husband retained their influence long. On the arrival of George I. in England, Seymour was nominated one of the new privy-council, and also appointed master of the horse, from which office he had been removed in 1712. But, within four weeks after, he threw up all his appointments. The occasion of the duke's sudden and extraordinary disgust is not very clearly known; unless it be that his grace was offended at something like a breach of royal faith in the matter of his son-in-law, Sir William Wyndham's commitment to the Tower. It is said that his grace had obtained a promise, before Sir William's arrest, that he should be very gently dealt with, and not even placed under confinement; but that this pledge was broken. Whatever was the real cause of the duke's indignation, the manner which he took to manifest it, bordered a little on the ridiculous. "Having commanded his servants to strip off the royal, and put on the family livery, he sent for a common dust-cart, and directed that all the badges of his office should be thrown into it; he then, follow-

[1] He was shot by Horatio Botti, in revenge of an insult which the duke and some of his licentious companions had offered to his lady.

ed by his retinue and the aforesaid vehicle, proceeded to the court-yard of St James's palace, and after ordering the driver to shoot the rubbish, he stalked back indignantly to Northumberland house, accompanied by the same cavalcade, in precisely the form in which he had left it."[2] The court must have been exceedingly amused at the proud duke and his dust-cart. There are many other anecdotes on record, equally illustrious of the duke's miserable pride. His second dutchess, Lady Charlotte Finch, daughter of the earl of Winchelsea, having, in a moment of playfulness, given him a familiar tap on the shoulder with her fan, he turned round, and sternly observed, "My first dutchess was a Percy, and she never took such a liberty!" Noble relates that the duke having the celebrated painter, James Seymour, one day at his table, was pleased to drink to him in these terms, "Cousin Seymour, your health;" but, on the painter replying, "My lord, I really do believe I have the honour of being of your grace's family;" the duke blushing with offended pride, rose from table, and desired his steward to pay Seymour his bill, and dismiss him. On some occasions his intolerable pride was deservedly dealt by. "Get out of the way!" said one of the outriders, who commonly preceded the duke's carriage, to a countryman who was driving a hog along the path, by which the great man was about to pass. "Why?" inquired the boor. "Because my lord duke is coming, and he does not like to be looked at," rejoined the courier. "But I will see him, and my pig shall see him too!" exclaimed the clown, enraged at the imperious manner of the lacquey, and, seizing the animal by the ears, he held it up before him until his grace and retinue had rolled past.

His grace died in 1748. There is a fine statue of him, by Rysbrack, in the senate-house of the university of Cambridge. Algernon, earl of Hertford, succeeded him in the dukedom.

William, Earl Cowper.

BORN A. D. 1670.—DIED A. D. 1723.

This eminent lawyer was the son of Sir William Cowper, Bart, of Hertford. He was educated for the bar, and became recorder of Colchester soon after his entering upon practice. In 1695 he was returned to parliament for the town of Hertford, and made a very successful debut in the house. In the next year he assisted as one of the crown-counsel in the trial of Sir William Perkins for high treason. He also supported the bill of attainder against Fenwick.

In October, 1705, he was made keeper of the great seal. His services in promoting the union of the Scottish and English crowns were rewarded by a peerage. On the 9th of November, 1706, he was created Baron Cowper of Wingham; and in the month of May following he was appointed lord-high-chancellor of England.

On the resignation of the whig ministry in 1710, he resigned the seals of office, which were reluctantly received by his royal mistress. George I. restored him to the chancellorship in August, 1714. In

[2] Memoirs of the Kit Cat Club, p 10, 11.

April, 1718, he resigned the great seal, having previously been raised to an earldom. In 1723 his political integrity was impeached by one Christopher Layer, who having been apprehended on a charge of high treason, in the course of his examination insinuated that Lord Cowper was connected with certain parties who were aiming at the expulsion of the house of Brunswick. His lordship indignantly denied the charge, and demanded an investigation of the whole affair by his brother-peers, but this was declined as unnecessary for the vindication of his character, which was unsullied. Among the latest acts of his lordship's life was his opposition to the bill of pains and penalties against Atterbury, and his protest against an act for imposing a tax upon Roman Catholics. He died in October, 1723.

All parties concur in ascribing considerable professional talents to Chancellor Cowper. Chesterfield declares, that, as a speaker, he was almost without a rival. "He never spoke without universal applause," he says. "The ears and the eyes gave him up the hearts and understandings of the audience." A writer of his own time has applied to him the compliment passed by Ben Jonson on Lord Verulam:—"He commanded when he spoke; he had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power; and the fear of every man that heard him was lest he should come to an end." In general politics, Cowper was liberal; but he was not a party-man, though he usually voted with the whigs, and shared their triumphs or reverses. Swift, in speaking of Queen Anne's advisers, says of him:—"Although his merits are later than the rest, he deserveth a rank in this great council. He was considerable in the station of a practising lawyer; but as he was raised to be a chancellor and a peer without passing through any of the intermediate steps which, in the late times, have been the constant practice; and little skilled in the nature of government or the true interests of princes, further than the municipal or common law of England; his abilities, as to foreign affairs, did not equally appear in the council. Some former passages of his life were thought to disqualify him for that office, by which he was to be the guardian of the queen's conscience; but these difficulties were easily overruled by the authors of his promotion, who wanted a person that would be subservient to all their designs, wherein they were not disappointed. As to his other accomplishments, he was what we usually call a piece of a scholar, and a good logical reasoner; if this were not too often alloyed by a fallacious way of managing an argument, which makes him apt to deceive the unwary, and sometimes to deceive himself."

Thomas, Earl of Macclesfield.

BORN A. D. 1667.—DIED A. D. 1732.

Thomas Parker, lord-chancellor of Great Britain. was the son of an English attorney of good family. He was born at Leeke, in Staffordshire, in 1667; and educated at Trinity-college, Cambridge. Having adopted the profession of the law, in 1705, he was appointed coun-

sel to Queen Anne; and in the same year he was returned member for the city of Derby.

He succeeded Sir John Holt, as chief-justice in the king's bench, being recommended to that office by Godolphin and Sunderland. George I. created him Baron Macclesfield, and, on the 12th of May, 1718, appointed him lord-chancellor. In 1721 he was created earl of Macclesfield.

Macclesfield was an able lawyer, and an equitable judge, but not free from the charge of venality. On the 6th of May, 1725, he was formally impeached by the commons, in twenty-one articles, for having disposed of certain offices in chancery to incompetent persons, and with having embezzled funds placed under the guardianship of that court His trial lasted thirteen days, and was conducted with great spirit by the impeachers. He was unanimously pronounced guilty by upwards of ninety of his peers, and fined in £30,000. It is said that Macclesfield's impeachment originated in the dislike of the prince of Wales, whom the chancellor had offended by asserting, that his royal highness had no right to control the education of his own children, and that the king gave Macclesfield a promise, that his fine should be paid out of the privy purse. Be that as it may, the death of his majesty threw the full burden of the fine upon the earl himself, who, mortified and irritated, retired at once from public life, and spent the remainder of his days at his seat of Sherborne castle, in Oxfordshire, where he died in April, 1732.

Sir Charles Wager.

BORN A. D. 1666.—DIED A. D. 1743.

THIS distinguished admiral was born on the 28th of October, 1666. He entered, while yet very young, into the naval service. On the 7th of June, 1692, he was appointed captain of the Razée fire-ship; from which he was soon removed to the Samuel and Henry, of forty-four guns. In 1695, he had the command of the Woolwich, a ship of fifty four guns, employed in the channel-fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel. Soon after the accession of Queen Anne, he became captain of the Hampton-court, of seventy guns. He subsequently served, in succession, under the orders of Shovel, Rooke, and Leake; with the latter of whom he acted at the taking of Majorca. On his return from the Mediterranean, he was despatched, in 1707, with a squadron of nine ships of the line, to the West Indies, having under his convoy a valuable fleet of merchantmen, which he escorted safely to their respective destinations. Having received information, in the month of December, that the French admiral, Du Casse, had put to sea for the purpose of protecting some Spanish galleons homeward-bound, he set sail with the Expedition, Portland, Kingston, and a fire-ship, for the purpose of attacking the galleons before Du Casse could join them. On the 28th of May, 1708, he descried the enemy's fleet, consisting of seventeen sail, galleons and ships of war, standing towards Carthagena. At sunset, he gallantly attacked the largest vessel, which, after having sustained an engagement for about an hour and a half, was blown up. His two

consorts had, however, disregarded his signals to attack; and, night coming on, he could only keep one of the enemy in sight. He came up with her about ten o'clock, and his own vessel, the Expedition, being now assisted by the Kingston and Portland, the enemy's ship, which carried fifty guns, was compelled to surrender. Meantime, the galleons had dispersed and escaped.

Admiral Wager's conduct, respecting the ship which he had captured in the engagement, gained him universal esteem. At that time, there were no regulations as to the distribution of prize-money; but, whenever a vessel was captured, it fell a prey to a general pillage. To remedy this evil, an act of parliament was passed, in 1707, regulating the future allotment of prize-money, but this not being known to Wager or his crew, they had proceeded on the old principle in making the division. But upon receiving intelligence of the new law, Wager ordered his captain to deliver up, for fair distribution, all the silver and valuable effects he had seized for his own and the admiral's use. Wager, shortly afterwards, received, by a vessel from England, a commission as rear-admiral of the blue; and, on the 2d of December, 1708, was made rear-admiral of the white. He remained until 1709 in the West Indies, where the ships under his command were very successful in capturing prizes On his return to England, he was immediately made rear-admiral of the red; and, on the 8th of December, received the honour of knighthood.

During the remainder of the reign of Queen Anne, he does not appear to have been employed in actual service; but, shortly after the accession of George I., he was appointed commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, and, nearly at the same time, comptroller of the navy On the 16th of June, 1716, he was made vice-admiral of the blue; on the 1st of February ensuing, vice-admiral of the white; and, on the 15th of March, vice-admiral of the red. In 1718, he was appointed a lord of the admiralty, on which occasion he resigned the comptrollership of the navy.

Betwixt the years 1718 and 1730, Sir Charles performed a variety of services for his country, which our limits will not permit us to detail. In July, 1731, he was made admiral of the blue; and, about the same time, had the command of a large armament, with which he set sail, for the purpose of seeing carried into execution the particulars of a treaty entered into at Vienna. The object of his mission being accomplished, he returned to England, where he arrived on the 10th of December, and never afterwards assumed any naval command.

On the 21st of June, 1733, Sir Charles Wager was nominated first lord of the admiralty; in January following, he was made admiral of the white; and having, on the 19th of March, 1741, quitted the admiralty board, he was, in the month of December, appointed treasurer of the navy. This station he held until his death, which took place on the 24th of May, 1743, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. A splendid monument was erected to his memory in Westminster-abbey.

Sir Charles Wager was a good naval officer, and remarkable for coolness in the midst of danger and difficulty. While he was at the head of the admiralty, an expedition, conducted by Captain Middleton, was sent out for the discovery of a passage to the South seas by the north-west part of Hudson's bay; and Commodore Anson perform-

ed his celebrated voyage round the world, the original idea of which is said to have been formed and matured by Sir Charles himself.

Marshal Wade.

BORN A. D. 1673.—DIED A. D. 1748.

GEORGE WADE was born in the year 1673. He entered the army in 1690, and became a major-general in 1709. On being placed at the head of the ordnance department in Scotland, he conferred a singular benefit on that kingdom by employing the military in cutting roads and otherwise improving the means of communication in the Highlands. In this undertaking he displayed considerable skill and great perseverance; and being aided by the resident gentry, as well as supported by the government, after ten years of the most strenuous and persevering efforts he succeeded in throwing open a great part of the northern portion of Scotland to ready and easy access from the Lowlands. The consequences were of incalculable benefit to the Highlanders themselves, as well as to the country at large. Wade set about making his roads in the true military style of his great predecessors in the art,—the Roman legionaries. In Chambers's amusing 'Book of Scotland' one of Wade's roads is described as presenting only four deviations from a direct line in the long distance of sixteen miles, and these were all occasioned by the necessity of carrying the work across rivers. Wade, says Chambers, "seems to have communicated his own stiff, erect, and formal character to his roads, but above all to this particular one, which is as straight as his person, as undeviating as his mind, and as indifferent to steep braes as he himself was to difficulties in the execution of his duty."

In 1715, the marshal was returned to parliament for the borough of Hindon. In 1722, he was elected for Bath, and continued to represent that city until his death, which occurred in 1748.

Wade has been accused of cowardice by some, and of military incapacity by others, on account of his conduct during the rebellion of 1745. He was placed at the head of a body of troops destined to act against the rebels, but lingered inactively at Newcastle, when, as it is alleged, he ought to have been marching into the north. There is no proof, however, that the marshal was at all deficient in courage; on the contrary, on more than one occasion he gave eminent proofs of his being possessed of a high degree both of honour and animal courage; and it does not appear that his conduct in 1745 ever drew down upon him the censure of the government; he died a privy-councillor, and in possession of his full military rank.

Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.

BORN A. D. 1678.—DIED A. D. 1751.

HENRY ST JOHN, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke and Baron St John of Lidyard Tregoze, was born about the year 1678. Common fame has

placed his birth at an earlier period; and if we are to rely on the testimony of his tomb-stone, 1672 must be assigned as the year in which he was born; but he himself expressly says in a letter to Sir W. Wyndham, which bears the date of New Year's day, 1738, "nine months hence I shall be threescore;" and, therefore, we must conclude the year first mentioned to be the correct one. It avails not to speak of the antiquity, wealth, or distinction of the lordly line from which he sprang:

> "Not all that heralds rake from coffin'd clay,
> Or poets tell in honey'd lines of rhyme,
> Can blazon evil deeds, or consecrate a crime."

It is, however, interesting to know that the branch of the St John's, from which he was immediately descended, was distinguished by its attachment to popular rights, and that several of his relations died confessors in the eminent cause of England's liberties. He himself was bred up with great care by his grandfather, Sir Henry St John, at his family seat of Battersea. As his grandmother was a decided puritan, and entertained in her house that celebrated nonconformist, Daniel Burgess, it is natural to conclude that St John was educated in dissenting principles; and indeed he himself informs us in his letter to Pope, printed at the end of the celebrated epistle to Sir W. Wyndham, "that he was obliged, while yet a boy, to read over the commentaries of Dr Manton, whose pride it was to have made a hundred and nineteen sermons on the hundred and nineteenth Psalm." At a proper age he was sent to Eton, where a rivalship commenced between him and the famous Sir Robert Walpole, which, in after life, ripened into the bitterest enmity, and terminated only with the grave. From Eton he removed to Christ church, Oxford, where he contrived effectually to purge himself from any taint of puritanism which in his early education he might have contracted. He left the university with the reputation of possessing brilliant talents; and as his personal appearance was of almost unequalled beauty, combining grace with a dignity that seemed born for command, while his manners were so fascinating that they alone would have won his way to the hearts of men, and his conversation was adorned by the most sparkling wit, and a profusion of illustrations furnished by his boundless memory, high expectations were entertained of his future success in life: but to great parts he added great passions, and his outset in life was signalized by a career of profligacy and debauchery, which excited the wonder of an age nowise remarkable for its morality. Ever anxious to be foremost in the pursuit which engaged his attention at the time, he probably derived as much satisfaction from the notoriety of keeping Miss Guisley, the most expensive prostitute in the kingdom, and of being able to drink a greater quantity of wine at a sitting than any other man of fashion, as he subsequently did from his fame as a politician. His parents, in order to reclaim him, caused him to be married to the daughter and co-heiress of Sir Henry Winchescomb,—a lady with whom he received a handsome jointure; but it does not appear that the remedy was successful, for after living together some time, they parted by mutual agreement, he complaining of the obstinacy of her temper, and she bitterly accusing him of the most shameless infidelity. In the year 1700—the same year in which he was married—he was chosen to represent the borough of Wootton-Basset,

in the parliament of which Robert Harley was for the first time chosen speaker. Whatever may have been St John's other faults, desertion of his party cannot be charged upon him, for on this his first introduction to public life, he openly joined the tories, either because he perceived them to be the dominant faction, or through the influence of Marlborough, who had already taken notice of him as a young man of rising talent. He sat for the same place in the next parliament, which was the last of William and the first of Anne, and is said to have voted against the bill for settling the succession to the crown. There has been no little discussion of the truth of this charge, which he himself repeatedly denies in the most indignant terms; but the fact appears to be, that although he might not vote against the principle of the bill, he did vote against a most important and essential provision of it, that by which it was declared to be high treason to obstruct the accession of the house of Hanover. He appears rapidly to have risen into notice as a man of invincible energy and singular talent; for, in 1704, he, along with Harley, to whom he had closely attached himself, was brought into office by Marlborough and Godolphin as secretary at war and of the marines. Though he was at this time, and indeed as long as he continued in office, an ardent votary of wine and women, he made himself extremely active in the house of commons, and impressed on all men, by his readiness both to speak and to act, a high respect for his talent and enterprize. Though sprung from a whig family, he was himself a decided tory, and as such, was closely leagued with Harley in all political measures. So intimate was the alliance between them, that when, in 1707, Harley was dismissed from office, in consequence of the discovery of his intrigues, St John chose to follow his fortunes, and gave in his resignation on the day following. He was not elected to the parliament which met in 1708, but employed the two years of his retirement in hard study, and he subsequently declared this to have been the most serviceable part of his life. It cannot now be known what share he took in the series of duty, but well-contrived intrigues, which ended in the expulsion of an administration, that possessed the entire confidence of the moneyed interest and of the allies,—that was upheld by men of no common talent, deeply versed in the management of business, and that had won for the country immortal laurels in a popular war. It is idle to consider the trial of Sacheverell as any thing but a subordinate cause of the overthrow of Godolphin's administration, though it is certainly true that that misjudged proceeding hastened its downfall. As Bolingbroke said, "The whigs took it into their heads to roast a parson, and they did roast him; but their zeal tempted them to make the fire so hot that they scorched themselves." The true causes are to be found in the heavy expenses of the war, and in the Jacobite inclinations of the queen. On the change of power St John was made secretary of state, Harley being chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer. To support the new ministry, the famous periodical was set up, entitled 'The Examiner,' of which the first twelve papers were written by St John, Atterbury, Prior, and others of eminent talent. One of these papers was written by St John with such consummate ability, that it has since acquired a separate reputation, as Mr St John's letter to the Examiner. In the new parliament he sat for Berkshire, and if at any, it was at this period of his life that his love of power and

prominence was gratified. To him was intrusted the chief support of the ministry in the lower house; and of a surety, large as was the majority which he could command, it required all his keen sarcasm and brilliant rhetoric to withstand the small but formidable mass of the opposition. To him is to be ascribed the credit or discredit of managing the treaty of Utrecht; and however much we may blame the terms of this celebrated peace,—the desertion of our allies,—the base cringing to France,—and the ignominious surrender of our just claims,[1] we cannot refuse to admire the energy and tact displayed by St John in carrying it through. Feebly backed by that solemn trifler, Harley,—opposed with the utmost vehemence by an opposition of extraordinary talent, and deriving incalculable advantages from a minute acquaintance with business,—having to counteract the unceasing hostility of our numerous and powerful allies,—to animate with his own spirit the flagging zeal of the supporters of government,—and, in addition to all this, being unable to rest securely on the promises of the French king, who again and again destroyed all the negotiations by the ever-increasing arrogance of his demands—St John, nevertheless, surmounted every difficulty, and by dint of unremitting application and singular address, at length carried the measure into execution. His spirit seemed to rise higher as difficulties and dangers increased upon him, and where other men would have been baffled by the prospect, he only nerved his arm to grapple with them more vigorously. Conscious as he must have been that he was the chief support of the ministry, it was not unnatural that his aspiring mind should be chagrined at beholding the most prominent place in the eyes of men, filled by one for whom he now began to entertain a thorough contempt; and his chagrin was increased in 1712 by his being raised to the peerage with the title of Viscount only, while that of Earl had been given to Harley, and by his having been omitted in a recent distribution of six vacant ribands of the order of the Garter. But besides this, there were other causes of a public nature. Bolingbroke detested Harley's trimming policy, and was constantly urging him to adopt high tory measures, and to clear the cabinet of every man favourable to the Revolution. He was also much more deeply implicated than the treasurer in the infamous correspondence which the 'Memoires de Berwic' satisfactorily show them both to have carried on with the Stuart family.[2] The differences between the two ministers gradually increased to such a height, that it became evident the present cabinet could not long hold together; and as Bolingbroke, besides contriving to win the favour of the queen's minion, Mrs Masham, was a much more decided Jacobite than his colleague, Anne determined to sacrifice the lord-treasurer. Before the explosion took place, however, Bolingbroke exhibited his attachment to the principles of his family, and his fond remembrances of the lessons and companions of his boyhood, by introducing into the house of lords, in a pompous speech, the memorably-infamous bill, "to prevent the growth of schism," by which dissenters were forbidden to instruct their

[1] St John himself confesses that England might have obtained more advantageous terms.

[2] It is a curious proof of Bolingbroke's love for truth, that, in his letter to Wyndham, he solemnly denies having ever corresponded with the court at St Germains previous to his impeachment. Whoever will read the Memoirs of Marshal Berwick, will find ample reason for disbelieving his lordship.

own children, and the whole country was to be "dragooned into ignorance and irreligion." On the 27th of July, 1714, the white staff was taken from Harley; and Bolingbroke, believing now that the supreme power was lodged in his hands, began with his characteristic energy to form a ministry of which every member elect was noted for his hostility to the protestant succession. Fortunately for the country and for posterity, the whig party was not less active; and Anne being declared to be in imminent danger, from an illness brought on by the late dissensions in the cabinet, the council, under the dukes of Argyle and Somerset, recommended the duke of Shrewsbury to hold the vacant staff, to which Anne gave her assent, and shortly after expired. Nothing could exceed the rage of Bolingbroke and his associates on this unexpected event.[3] The crisis they had long looked for was come, and behold! the game had gone against them. By the bold and skilful management of the whigs, the country, in this hour of imminent peril, was delivered unscathed,—the protestant succession was firmly established,—the Jacobites received a blow from which they never recovered,—and the religion and liberty of the nation were placed on a sure foundation. On the third day after Anne's death, Addison was appointed by the regency to the foreign secretaryship, and Bolingbroke was made to deliver up all the letters and papers belonging to his office. On the arrival of the new monarch, Bolingbroke requested permission to kiss his hand, and sent most humble assurances of his obedience; but his request was refused; and to such a height had the rage of his opponents been raised, that it was resolved to impeach him of high treason. Instead of staying to meet the charge, he fled in disguise to France, "in consequence," says he, in a letter to Lord Lansdowne, "of having received certain and repeated information from some who are in the secret of affairs, that a resolution was taken by those who had power to execute it, to pursue me to the scaffold." Immediately on his flight being known, a bill of attainder was brought in against him by his ancient school-fellow, Walpole; and so general was the impression of his guilt, that only two members—both of whom were rank Jacobites—ventured to utter a word in the fugitive's defence. The bill passed through the upper house; and as if to justify it, Bolingbroke, with the smart of attainder tingling in his veins, accepted the office of secretary in the mock court of the pretender. But he soon discovered the madness of the step he had taken. It was just at this period that the ill-fated rebellion of 1715 was concocting, and on entering into office he found the treasury empty,—the French court indisposed to render any assistance,—the supporters of the cause full of ungrounded confidence and ill-regulated zeal,—the prince himself weak-headed and irresolute,—his chief counsellors struggling among themselves for place,—the English Jacobites unwilling to countenance the undertaking,—and all the affairs of the court and plans of the rising entangled in such inextricable confusion, and surfeited with such preposterous folly, that it seemed as if Providence had sent infatuation on them to destroy them. Despairing of success, Bolingbroke nevertheless determined to prop the falling cause to the best of his ability, and

[3] There is an amusing anecdote in the 'Secret History of the White Staff,' detailing the conference between Bolingbroke and Atterbury, immediately after the queen had given away the staff.

exerted himself strenuously to reduce matters to something like order, and to obtain supplies from the French court. But even his talents failed of success; and to add to his mortification, he was summarily and insolently dismissed from the pretender's service, and articles of impeachment exhibited against him. What was the cause of this strange proceeding cannot now be ascertained; but Bolingbroke appears to have viewed it with sincere pleasure, as it at once set him at liberty from any engagements or obligations to the pseudo-monarch; and when he was requested to reassume his office, he said, "I am a freeman, and I wish my arm may rot off if I ever draw my sword, or employ my pen, in his service."

Being proscribed by both parties, it was with no little pleasure that he received from the earl of Stair, the English ambassador at Paris, an intimation of the king's favourable disposition to him, and he now turned all his thoughts to effecting a reconciliation with his enemies the whigs. We learn from Horace Walpole's letters, that he made professions of the most implicit submission and support to the whig government; and as an earnest of his anxiety to serve them, published, in 1717, his celebrated letter to Sir W. Wyndham, in which he displayed, with great effect, the insignificance and folly of the pretender's party. Though it is confessed that this production gave a death-blow to the Jacobite cause, it does not appear that it effected Bolingbroke's real object, for he was still unable to return to England. During the early part of his exile his first wife had died, and he now married the widow of the Marquis de Villette, and niece of the celebrated Madam Maintenon, a woman of great beauty and talent, in whose society, aided by the philosophical spirit which circumstances had forced upon him, and by the glittering gaieties of the French capital, he passed his time as happily as could wisely be expected for a spirit burning with the desire of action, and yet pent up in an inglorious idleness. In 1723, he obtained from England a pardon, as to his personal safety, but which restored him neither to his title or inheritance, nor to his seat in parliament. In consequence of this act of favour, he returned to England. Just as he was about to embark in the packet-boat at Calais, he met with his ancient ally Atterbury, who, after weathering the storm which had burst on the head of Bolingbroke, was now setting out on a banishment for new offences, at the very time that his former coadjutor was returning. As soon as Bolingbroke arrived in England, he used all his arts and energy to obtain the reversal of his attainder, not scrupling to humble himself to degradation before his enemy Walpole, that he might accomplish his object; and his efforts were so far successful, that in two years after his return from banishment, his family-estate was restored to him, and he was allowed to possess any other estate in the kingdom which he might think proper to purchase. This remission of his sentence has always been charged upon Walpole as one of the most unwise acts of his administration; but Coxe, in his life of that statesman, shows pretty clearly that it was a measure unwillingly brought forward by Walpole, in obedience to the express commands of his sovereign, whose ear Bolingbroke had contrived in some way to gain. The bitterness with which this act of indulgence was opposed in parliament, and the feelings of dislike which it excited throughout the country, are remarkable proofs of the extent

to which Bolingbroke was hated and feared. Methuen, the comptroller of the household, declared in the debate, that "the public crimes for which this petitioner stood attainted, were so heinous, so flagrant, and of so deep a dye, as not to admit of any expiation or atonement; and whatever he might have done to deserve his majesty's private grace and pardon, yet he thought him altogether unworthy of any national favour." Bolingbroke took advantage of the favour shown him, to purchase a seat of Lord Tankerville's, at Dawley, near Uxbridge in Middlesex, and here he devoted himself to farming, painting his hall with spades, rakes, ploughs, and other emblems of agriculture. He maintained a constant correspondence with Swift, now banished, as he himself said, to Ireland, and Pope resided within a short distance, so that he was not wholly deprived of the society of eminent men. In writing to Swift about this period, he says, "I am on my own farm, and here I shoot strong and tenacious roots; I have caught hold of the earth, to use a gardener's phrase, and neither my friends nor my enemies will find it an easy matter to transplant me again." But he had not yet learned to know his own temperament. However often he might make use of, he never felt the expression, "Innocuas amo delicias, doctamque quietem." His was not the spirit to which "rural amusements and philosophical meditations could make the hours glide smoothly on." Finding that there was no hope of his being restored to his dignities so long as Walpole held the reins of power, and heedless of the gratitude which he had again and again professed to that statesman, he leagued himself with the tory party, and with the discontented whigs who clung to Pulteney, and commenced an opposition to the Walpole administration more implacable, and more systematic, than any other recorded in the history of English factions. While Wyndham and Pulteney attacked the minister in parliament, Bolingbroke and others were not less active with their pens; and in a series of papers published in 'The Craftsman,' Walpole was assailed with a ferocity, and it is but fair to add, a talent, rarely paralleled in political controversy. During ten years this warfare was carried on; but the genius and the arts of Walpole prevailed, and at length Bolingbroke was deserted by those over whom he had so long been the presiding genius. Pulteney, his ally, advised him to retire from the scene, declaring that the knowledge of his co-operation was more injurious than beneficial to the enemies of the administration, and the tories seem at last to have become restive under the yoke of "the mounting Bolingbroke." Finding himself thus useless, he took the resolution of retiring to France. "I am still," says he in a letter to Wyndham, written at this period, "the same proscribed man, surrounded with difficulties, exposed to mortifications, and unable to take any share in the service but that which I have taken, and which I think you would not persuade me to take in the present state of things. My part is over; and he who remains on the stage after his part is over, deserves to be hissed off." Before his withdrawal, he summoned up all his energies to deal one parting-blow against the minister, in his 'Dissertation on Parties,' one of the ablest, if not the ablest, of his political writings. He retired to France in 1736, and took up his residence in an agreeable retirement near Fontainebleau. Here he devoted himself to more exalted studies than had previously occupied him. To use his own language in the 'Reflections upon

Exile,' he resolved, "far from the hurry of the world, and almost an unconcerned spectator of what passed in it, having paid in a public life what he owed to the present age, to pay in a private life what he owed to posterity." The first fruits of his leisure was a series of 'Letters on the Study and Use of History,' in the course of which he takes occasion to develope the opinion which he had long previously maintained in conversation, that the scriptures are not the revealed will of God. The shallowness and triteness of the reasoning with which he supports this doctrine, were too obvious to escape even the eyes of his most intimate friends. "If ever Bolingbroke trifles," said Pope, "it must be when he turns divine." The assumption of philosophical resignation and contempt for the accidents of life, which he displays in these letters, excited considerable ridicule at home; and to obviate this, he addressed a Letter to Lord Bathurst, on the true use of retirement and study. But in spite of his assumed philosophy, there was still beating beneath the dark mantle of the sage, a heart as open to human passions, as restless, and as warm with hatred, party-spirit, and love of power, as any through which the stream of life ever circulated. He returned to England in the course of a few years, and took up his residence at his family-seat in Battersea, which had now fallen to him by the death of his father. Unable to look upon the course of events with that calm spirit of indifference, with the possession of which he had flattered himself, he plunged once again into the party-politics of the day. His 'Letters on Patriotism and Idea of a Patriot King,' is one of his last productions; and although the writer was bordering on his seventieth year, it displays as much fire, ingenuity, and florid rhetoric, and as little profound judgment, as the earliest of his productions. After sketching a patriot king to be such an one as, if ever he existed, would be a sort of standing miracle, he concludes his airy speculation by saying, "Those who live to see such happy days, and to act in so glorious a scene, will, perhaps, call to mind with some tenderness of sentiment, when he is no more, a man who contributed his mite to carry on so good a work, and who desired life for nothing so much as to see a king of Great Britain the most popular man in his country, and a patriot king at the head of an united people." The last composition which flowed from his pen, was an Essay upon the state of the nation; but ere it could be completed death arrested the writer's hand. After suffering excruciating agony from a cancer on his cheek, he expired at his family-seat, on the 15th of November, 1751, and was interred in Battersea church. With his dying breath he maintained the dark tenets of infidelity which he had professed during life, and some of his latest orders were, that none of the clergy should be allowed to disturb his dying hours. After his decease a number of productions intended for publication were found among his papers, one of which was his celebrated Essay on the nature, extent, and reality of human knowledge.

It appears to us that nothing can be more absurd than the attempt which has been frequently made—and has of late been renewed by a writer of considerable ability in the department of fiction—to represent Bolingbroke as a man more sinned against than sinning, and animated at heart by a sincere desire to serve his country, though occasionally the ardour of his passions drove him into perilous errors. If there be one feature of his character which stands out more prominently than

another, it is an utter and heartless want of principle. From the commencement of his career down to the day of his death, personal ambition, or the spleen of the moment, was the mainspring of his actions. Signalizing his entrance upon public life by a desertion of the principles in which he had been educated,—voluntarily becoming the most active persecutor of his earliest friends and connections,—professing, to forward his own ambitious views, devoted attachment to a religion whose ministers he insulted, and whose altars he despised,—intriguing with a favourite, and corresponding with an exiled tyrant to supplant his colleague,—solemnly protesting his adherence to the Hanoverian succession, at the very time that he was filling his projected cabinet with zealous Jacobites,—cringing to the minister by whom he had been impeached and exiled,—assuring that minister of his friendship and support until he had obtained all the favours that could be granted, and then with shameless ingratitude organizing against him the most deadly opposition,—inveighing against parties, and himself the ringleader of the bitterest of factions, lauding the prerogative to flatter a sovereign, and declaiming for a liberty bordering upon licentiousness, to embarrass a ministry,—are traits in the character of "this ingrate and cankered Bolingbroke," which it would be cant and not candour, weakness and not wisdom, to forget or to forgive. Nothing can be more ludicrously inconsistent than his professions of adherence to a family which had been driven from the throne for its attacks on popular rights, contrasted with the fiery vehemence of his tirades against the whigs for attempting to enslave the nation. We defy any one to point out writings more deeply imbued with whig principles, or more opposed to all the political principles of Mr St John, than the letters in the 'Craftsman,' those on the 'History of England,' and the 'Dissertation on Parties of my Lord Bolingbroke.' Yet, in spite of this want of consistency, Bolingbroke never fell into the contempt which overtook his colleague and rival, Harley, and which seldom fails to overtake all those who embark on the voyage of life without the ballast of honesty. Perhaps no two men actuated in the main by similar motives, and presenting certain general points of resemblance, ever differed more widely than Harley and Bolingbroke. Each was actuated chiefly by a love of power,—each was ready to stoop to any device for the increase or preservation of that power,—each acknowledged no ties of gratitude, and no laws of honour; but Harley was a cold formal trifler,—characterized by no vice in private, and no virtue in public life,—ever making fair professions, and never fulfilling them,—"one of those gentle ones that would use the devil himself with courtesy,"—and seeming to love power only for the sake of its empty splendours; Bolingbroke was of a fiery energetic temper,—scorning to gild his actions so long as he had authority to bear him through,—stained by every private immorality,—constantly urging on with a reckless haste the most decisive counsels, and valuing power chiefly for the opportunity of exercising it. The former was the least erect, the latter the fiercest and the strongest spirit that animated the scene.

The great features of Bolingbroke's character are an unrivalled self-confidence and thirst for distinction. Hence it was that he constantly aimed at the first place in all things, and believed himself equal to it. In the earlier part of his career it was his aim to combine the attributes

of the most brilliant wit,—the most accomplished *litterateur*,—the ablest statesman,—the most eloquent orator,—the most fashionable beau,—and the most reckless debauchee of the age. The idle compliment and commonplace of fashionable life was mingled with abstruse reflections on themes of mysterious import, and the gay badinage of the saloon was succeeded, at no long interval, by the grave deliberations of the council-chamber. The evening which was commenced by advocating in the senate persecution as a method of propagating true religion, was not unfrequently concluded in heating and exhausting his fine imagination to deify the prostitute of the night, and in devastating his constitution by bacchanalian revelry. To be pre-eminent alike in the solemn pageantries of a court and the deep counsels of a senate,—in the world of fashion and the world of letters,—in pleasure and in business,—in the intrigues of a libertine and the intrigues of a politician,—was the aim of this Alcibiades of modern times. And it must be confessed, that few men have performed so many different parts with equal success. In after life, when his attainder prevented him from taking any active part in politics, and the fulness of enjoyment had brought a satiety of pleasure, he carried the same proud spirit into philosophy. Not only aspiring at the possession of universal knowledge, but also to be the sole arbiter and lord-paramount in every department of literature on which his pen was exercised, he attempts to exact from mankind a homage which would be refused to abilities far greater than his, employed for a life-time on a tithe of the vast domain over which he ranges. To use Tillotson's fine language, it was his purpose, "by a vast and imperious mind, and a heart as large as the sands on the sea-shore, to command all the knowledge of nature and art, of words and things; to attain to a mastery in all languages, and sound the depths of all arts and sciences,—measure the earth and the heavens, and tell the stars, and declare their orders and motions,—to discourse of the interest of all states, the intrigues of all courts, the reason of all civil laws and constitutions, and to give an account of the history of all ages."[3] Thus arrogant,—thus vast in his aspirations,—and, with a heart unteachable by the sweet uses of adversity, it is not a matter of surprise, that he met the common fate of those who have not taken due measure of their own capacity; that, of the multifarious projects in which he engaged, not one came to perfection, with the solitary exception of the treaty of Utrecht,—that his whole life was a series of fruitless struggles,—and that his proud heart, after so many mortifications, became corroded with all malevolence, and a prey to its own passions. He stands, for the instruction of posterity, a monument of blighted ambition,—vast in dimensions, and stately in the framework, but scathed and blasted by deep scars of thunder.

Having now spoken of Bolingbroke's moral qualifications, it only remains for us to offer a few observations on the *quæstio vexata* of his mental character. No man in ancient or modern times received a larger measure of applause from his contempories, whether friends or enemies. The theme of Swift's warmest panegyrics,—the god of Pope's idolatry,—and esteemed the miracle of an age not undistinguished by great names, it might have been anticipated that his remains would have

[3] Sermon 'On the wisdom of being religious.'

been greedily sought after by posterity, and perused with an almost reverential admiration. Yet so much do succeeding generations differ in their opinion, that scarcely one man in ten knows him to have been any thing more than a statesman, and not one in a hundred has made himself acquainted with his writings. Perhaps it is not very difficult to assign the cause of this apparent anomaly. Bolingbroke's abilities were exactly of that stamp which astonish and fascinate those who come into personal contact with their possessor,—more brilliant than solid,—more showy than substantial. His mind was not a profound one; but what it wanted in this respect was atoned for by its readiness and acuteness. He seemed to grasp every thing by intuition, and no sooner had he made himself master of a proposition or an argument, than his astonishing memory enabled him to bring forth vast stores of information and illustration at a moment's warning. Endowed with a brilliant imagination,—a prodigious flow of words,—a style which fascinates the reader by the incomparable beauty of the language and the bounding elasticity of the sentences,—and an extraordinary power of presenting his conceptions in the clearest possible light,—his contemporaries looked upon him as one of those rare beings who seem to be endowed with a nature superior to that of common mortality, and who stoop down to the world only to evince their mastery of all its lore, and their superiority to its inhabitants. But, dazzled as they were by the vast surface of the stream, they forgot to inquire into its depth. We, in modern times, who know nothing of the artificial splendour with which a "form excelling human,"—a manner that seemed given to sway mankind,—and a most dazzling style of conversation, invested the name of Bolingbroke, are perhaps inclined, by the exaggeration of the praise once lavished on him, to do him but scanty justice. Nevertheless, it must strike the reader of his works, that he nowhere exhibits a power of carrying on a continuous train of thought; that he never fairly grapples with any subject, but contents himself with pointing out its weaknesses and illustrating its minor features; that no lofty thought or original reflection escapes from him; that he is an acute observer, but a shallow thinker,—a clever rhetorician, but an illogical reasoner. His political writings are indeed occasionally distinguished by a vigorous and well-conducted style of argumentation; but we know not more tame and impotent specimens of deduction than his 'Philosophical Essays.' The boasted First Philosophy is founded on a congeries of confuted fallacies and shallow sophistries, on which it would be impossible to build any edifice more substantial than a limbo of vanity. The unabashed assurance with which he pronounces his dictum on the merits of his predecessors and contemporaries,—the tacit assumption which he makes of his own superiority,—the various character and prodigious extent of his erudition, superficial as it unquestionably was,—the variety and happiness of his illustrations,—the brilliancy of his metaphors,—and, above all, the inimitable graces of his style, combining with the form of an essay the spirit and fire of an oration, have imposed upon the vulgar; but those who can look beneath the surface will discover, without much difficulty, that the inside of the cup and the platter is scarcely answerable to the splendour of the external show.

Such was the life and character of Lord Viscount Bolingbroke,—a man of whom it may be truly said that he performed nothing to entitle

him to the gratitude of his coevals, and that he has bequeathed to posterity little save an example to be shunned. There were about him some elements of a noble nature,—something that seemed,

" For dignity composed, and high exploit:"

but so marred by vices, that his evil genius never lost its ascendancy. There was, however, something magnificent in the indomitable energy of his nature,—in the invincible spirit which supported him under long years of exile and disgrace,—in the vast aspirations after dominion over the wide fields of intellect and universal supremacy which tempts us to exclaim,—

" This should have been a noble creature! He
Hath all the energy which would have made
A goodly frame of glorious elements,
Had they been wisely mingled; as it is,
It is an awful chaos,—light and darkness,—
And wind and dust,—and passions and pure thoughts,
Mix'd and contending without end or order,
All dormant or destructive: he will perish."

His works were published in 5 vols., 4to, by Mallet; London, 1755. Works, with his life, by Goldsmith, in 8 vols., 8vo.; London, 1809. His Letters and Correspondence, public and private, during the time of his secretaryship to Queen Anne, were published by G. Parke, in 2 vols., 4to; London, 1798.

II.—ECCLESIASTICAL SERIES.

Archbishop Tillotson.

BORN A. D. 1630.—DIED A. D. 1694.

This eminent divine, one of the brightest ornaments of the church of England, was descended from a family anciently of the name of Tilston, in Cheshire. His father was Robert Tillotson, a considerable clothier of Sowerby, in the parish of Halifax in Yorkshire. Both his parents were nonconformists.

After he had passed through the grammar-schools, and attained a skill in the learned languages superior to his years, young Tillotson was sent to Cambridge in 1647, and admitted a pensioner of Clare-hall He commenced bachelor of arts in 1650, and master of arts in 1654; having been chosen fellow of this college in 1651. He left college in 1656 or 1657, according to Dr Hickes, who informs us that he was invited by Edmund Prideaux, Esq. of Ford-Abbey, in Devonshire, to instruct his son. This gentleman had been commissioner of the great seal under the long parliament, and was then attorney-general to Oliver Cromwell. How long Mr Tillotson lived with Mr Prideaux, or whe-

ther till that gentleman's death, which happened in 1659, does not appear. He was in London at the time of the protector's death.

The date of Tillotson's entering into holy orders, and by whom he was ordained, are facts unascertained; but his first published sermon was preached at the morning-exercise at Cripplegate. At the time of preaching this sermon he was among the presbyterians, whose commissioners he attended—though as an auditor only—in the Savoy, in 1661; but he submitted to the act of uniformity on St Bartholomew's day in the year ensuing.

The first office in the episcopalian church in which we find him employed after the restoration, was that of curate at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, in the years 1661 and 1662. In December, 1662, he was elected minister of the parish of St Mary, Aldermanbury, by the parishioners, in whom the right of choice is vested. He declined the acceptance of that living, but did not continue long without the offer of another benefice, which he accepted, being presented in June, 1663, to the rectory of Ketton, or Keddington, in the county of Suffolk. Shortly after, he was called to London by the society of Lincoln's-inn, to be their preacher. The reputation which his preaching gained him in so conspicuous a station as that of Lincoln's-inn, recommended him, the year following, to the trustees of the Tuesday's lecture at St Lawrence, Jewry, founded by Elizabeth, Viscountess Camden. Here he was commonly attended by a numerous audience, and a great concourse of the clergy, who followed him for improvement. He particularly distinguished himself by opposing the growing evils of Charles the Second's reign,—atheism and popery. In the year 1664, one Smith, having deserted the church of England for the Romish communion, published a book, called 'Sure Footing in Christianity; or Rational Discourses on the Rule of Faith.' This being extolled by the abettors of popery as an unanswerable performance, Tillotson refuted it in a piece intituled, 'Rule of Faith,' which was printed in 1666, and inscribed to Dr Stillingfleet. Smith—who assumed the name of Sergeant as a disguise—replied to this; and in another piece, attacked a passage in Tillotson's sermon 'On the wisdom of being religious,' which sermon, as well as his 'Rule of Faith,' Tillotson defended in the preface to the first volume of his sermons, printed in 1671, in a manner which established his reputation as a controversial writer.

In 1666 he took the degree of D. D. Upon the promotion of Dr Peter Gunning to the bishopric of Chichester, in 1670, Tillotson was collated to the prebend of the second stall in the cathedral of Canterbury, which had been held by the new bishop. He kept this prebend till he was advanced to the deanery of that church in 1672. In 1675, he was presented to the prebend of Ealdland, in St Paul's, London, which he resigned for that of Oxgate, and a residentiaryship in the same church in 1678. This last preferment was obtained for him by the interest of his friend, Dr Sharp, afterwards archbishop of York. Dean Tillotson had been for some years on the list of chaplains to King Charles II., but his majesty, according to Burnet, had little kindness for him. He therefore contented himself with his deanery, the duties of which he faithfully discharged; and upon several occasions he showed the moderation of his views, particularly in 1674, when he engaged in the revival of a scheme, which had miscarried in 1668, to compre-

hend the protestant dissenters within the pale of the church of England by concessions on both sides; but the violence of the high-church prelates rendered his good offices ineffectual.

The origin of Tillotson's interest with the prince and princess of Orange, with the consequences of it in his advancement to the see of Canterbury, has been ascribed to an incident which is supposed to have happened in the year 1677, and is thus represented by Eachard, in his 'History of England.' "The match between that prince and princess being made upon political views, against the will of the duke of York, and not with the hearty liking of the king, the country-party, as they were then called, were exceedingly pleased and elated; and, after the lord-mayor's feast, a secret design was laid to invite the new married couple into the city, to a public and solemn entertainment to be made for them. To prevent this, the court hurried both the bride and bridegroom, as fast as they could, out of town, so that they departed with such precipitation that they had scarce time to make any provision for their journey. Their servants and baggage went by the way of Harwich, but the prince and princess by Canterbury road, where they were to stay till the wind was fair, and the yacht ready to sail with them. Being arrived at Canterbury, they repaired to an inn; and, no good care being taken in their haste to separate what was needful for their journey, they came very meanly provided thither. Monsieur Bentinck, who attended them, endeavoured to borrow some plate and money from the corporation for their accommodation; but, upon grave deliberation, the mayor and body proved to be really afraid to lend them either. Dr Tillotson, dean of Canterbury, at that time in residence there, hearing of this, immediately got together all his own plate, and other that he borrowed, together with a good number of guineas, and all other necessaries for them, and went directly to the inn to Monsieur Bentinck, and offered him all that he had got, and withal complained that he did not come to the deanery, where the royal family used to lodge, and heartily invited them still to go thither, where they might be sure of a better accommodation. This last they declined, but the money, plate, and the rest were highly acceptable to them. Upon this the dean was carried to wait upon the prince and princess, and his great interest soon brought others to attend upon them. By this lucky accident, he began that acquaintance, and the correspondence with the prince and Monsieur Bentinck, which increased yearly till the Revolution, when Bentinck had great occasion for him and his friends, on his own account, as well as the prince himself, when he came to the crown. And this was the true secret ground on which the bishop of London —whose qualities and services seemed to entitle him without a rival to the archbishopric—was set aside, and Dr Tillotson advanced over his head."

On the discovery of the popish plot, Tillotson was appointed to preach before the house of commons on the 5th of November. The discovery of the Rye-house plot, in 1683, opened a very melancholy scene, in which the dean had a large share of distress, on account both of his private friendships and his concern for the public weal. One of the principal objects of his solicitude and anxiety was Lord William Russell. After Lord Russell's condemnation, the dean and Dr Burnet were

sent for by his lordship, and they both continued their attendance upon him till his death.

In 1685, when the persecution of the Huguenots, or protestant subjects in France, became so intolerant, by the impolitic revocation of the edict of Nantz, that thousands of families forsook their country, and fled for refuge to the protestant states of Europe, many of them came to England, and were encouraged by the dean to settle at Canterbury, where they amply repaid this country for the protection granted to them, by establishing the silk-weaving trade. The king having granted briefs to collect alms for their relief, the dean exerted himself in procuring contributions from his friends. Dr Beveridge, one of the prebendaries of his cathedral, having refused to read the briefs, as being contrary to the rubric, the dean is reported to have said to him, "Doctor, doctor, charity is above rubrics!"

During the debates in parliament concerning the settlement of the crown on King William for life, the dean was advised with on that point by the Princess Anne of Denmark, who had at first refused to give her consent to it as prejudicial to her own right. Upon the accession of William and Mary, the dean was admitted into a high degree of favour and confidence at court, and was appointed clerk of the closet to the king. The refusal of Archbishop Sancroft to acknowledge the government or to take the oaths of allegiance, having occasioned that dignitary's suspension soon after, his majesty fixed upon Tillotson for the primacy. His reluctance to accept this first dignity in the church of England will be best represented in the dean's own words, in his letter to Lady Russell upon that subject:—"But now begins my trouble. After I had kissed the king's hand for the deanery of St Paul's, I gave his majesty my most humble thanks, and told him that now he had set me at ease for the remainder of my life. He replied. 'No such matter, I assure you;' and spoke plainly about a great place, which I dread to think of, and said, 'It was necessary for his service; and he must charge it upon my conscience.' Just as he had said this he was called to supper, and I had only time to say, 'That when his majesty was at leisure I did believe I could satisfy him, that it would be most for his service that I should continue in the station in which he had now placed me.' This hath brought me into a real difficulty; for, on the one hand, it is hard to decline his majesty's commands, and much harder yet to stand out against so much goodness as his majesty is pleased to use toward me. On the other, I can neither bring my inclination nor my judgment to it. This I owe to the bishop of Salisbury,—Dr Burnet, one of the worst and best friends I know: best, for his singular good opinion of me; and the worst, for directing the king to this method, which I know he did, as if his lordship and I had concocted the matter, how to finish this foolish piece of dissimulation, in running away from a bishopric to catch an archbishopric. This fine device hath thrown me so far into the briers, that, without his majesty's great goodness, I shall never get off without a scratched face. And now I will tell your ladyship the bottom of my heart:—I have, of a long time, I thank God for it, devoted myself to the public service, without any regard for myself; and to that end have done the best I could, in the best manner I was able. Of late God hath been pleased, by a very severe

way,[1] but in great goodness to me, to wean me perfectly from the love of this world, so that worldly greatness is now not only undesirable, but distasteful to me; and I do verily believe that I shall be able to do as much, or more good, in my present station, than in a higher; and shall not have one jot less interest or influence upon any others to any good purpose; for the people naturally love a man that will take great pains and little preferment; but, on the other hand, if I could force my inclination to take this great place, I foresee that I shall sink under it, and grow melancholy, and good for nothing, and, after a little while die as a fool does."

The see of Canterbury, however, becoming vacant by the deprivation of Archbishop Sancroft, in [illegible] the king continued to importune the dean to accept of it. In this situation he wrote another letter to Lady Russell, wherein he tells her:—"On Sunday last the king commanded me to wait upon him the next morning at Kensington. I did so, and met with what I feared. His majesty renewed his former gracious offer in so pressing a manner, and with so much kindness, that I hardly knew how to resist it. I made the best acknowledgments I could of his undeserved grace and favour to me, and begged of him to consider all the consequences of this matter, being well assured that all that storm, which was raised in convocation the last year by those who will be the church of England, was upon my account, and that the bishop of London was at the bottom of it, out of a jealousy that I might be a hindrance to him in attaining what he desires, and what, I call God to witness, I would not have. And I told his majesty that I was still afraid that his kindness to me would be greatly to his prejudice, especially if he carried it so far as he was then pleased to speak; for I plainly saw they could not bear it, and that the effects of envy and ill-will towards me would terminate upon him. To which he replied, 'That if the thing were once done, and they saw no remedy, they would give over, and think of making the best of it; and, therefore, he must desire me to think seriously of it;' with other expressions not fit for me to repeat. To all which I answered, 'That in obedience to his majesty's commands, I would consider of it again, though I was afraid I had already thought more of it than had done me good, and must break through one of the greatest resolutions of my life, and sacrifice at once all the ease and contentment of it; which yet I would force myself to do, were I really convinced that I was, in any measure, capable of doing his majesty and the public that service which he was pleased to think I was.' He smiled, and said, 'You talk of trouble, I believe you will have much more ease in it than in the condition in which you now are.' Thinking not fit to say more, I humbly took leave."

The result of this affair is mentioned at large in his letter to Lady Russell:—"I went to Kensington full of fear, but yet determined what was fit for me to do. I met the king coming out of his closet, and asking if his coach was ready. He took me aside, and I told him, 'That, in obedience to his majesty's command, I had considered of the thing as well as I could, and came to give him my answer.' I perceived

[1] The death of his only surviving child, Mary, the wife of James Chadwicke, Esq., is here alluded to. It happened in 1687

his majesty was going out, and therefore desired him to appoint me another time, which he did, on the Saturday morning after. Then I came again, and he took me into his closet, where I told him 'that I could not but have a deep sense of his majesty's great grace and favour to me, not only to offer me the best thing he had to give, but to press it so earnestly upon me.' I said 'I would not presume to argue the matter any further; but I hoped he would give me leave to be still his humble and earnest petitioner to spare me in that thing.' He answered, 'He would do so if he could; but he knew not what to do if I refused it.' Upon that I told him, 'That I tendered my life to him, and did humbly devote it to be disposed of as he thought fit.' He was graciously pleased to say, 'It was the best news had come to him this great while.' I did not kneel down to kiss his hand; for, without that, I doubt I am too sure of it; but requested of him that he would defer the declaration of it, and let it be a secret for some time. He said, 'He thought it might not be amiss to defer it till the parliament was up.' I begged farther of him that he would not make me a wedge to drive out the present archbishop; that, some time before I was nominated, his majesty would be pleased to declare in council, that, since his lenity had not had any better effect, he would wait no more, but would dispose of his place. This, I told him, I humbly desired, that I might not be thought to do any thing harsh, or which might reflect upon me; for, now that his majesty had thought fit to advance me to this station, my reputation was become his interest. He said, 'He was sensible of it, and thought it reasonable to do as I desired.'"

At length his majesty's nomination in council of him to the archbishopric took place on the 23d of April, 1691. The *congé d'elire* being granted on the 1st of May, he was elected on the 16th, confirmed on the 28th, and, having retired to his house on Saturday the 30th, which he spent in fasting and prayer, was consecrated the day following, being Whitsunday, in the church of St Mary-le-Bow, by Dr Peter Mew, bishop of Winchester; Dr William Lloyd, bishop of St Asaph; Dr Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Sarum; Dr Edward Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester; Dr Gilbert Ironside, bishop of Bristol; and Dr John Hough, bishop of Oxford. Four days after his consecration he was sworn of the privy-council; and on the 11th of July he had a restitution of the temporalities of his see. All the profits of it from the Michaelmas preceding were likewise granted to him.

He did not long survive his advancement, for, on Sunday the 18th of November, 1694, he was seized with a sudden illness while at chapel in Whitehall. He was attended, the two last nights of his illness, by his friend Nelson, the author of 'The Fasts and Festivals of the Church of England,' in whose arms he expired on the 10th of December, 1694, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

The archbishop's theological works are still held in the highest repute, and have been frequently reprinted; many of his sermons have likewise been translated into foreign languages. To the last edition in folio is prefixed his life, by the editor, Dr Birch, from which the present memoir is chiefly extracted.

Bishop Ken.

BORN A. D. 1637.—DILD A. D. 1692.

Thomas Ken, youngest son, by the first wife, of Thomas Ken of Furnival's Inn, was born at Little Berkhamstead, Hertfordshire, in July 1637. It is not known where he received the first rudiments of his early education, but he was afterwards entered on William of Wykeham's munificent foundation at Winchester, whence he was removed to New college, Oxford, of which he became a fellow-probationer in 1657. In 1666 he obtained a fellowship in the college near Winchester, and in 1699 was promoted to the dignity of a prebendal stall in the restored cathedral church of that place. For this advancement he was indebted to Bishop Morley, whose attachment to Ken seems to have been sincere and warm, and probably originated in the kindness which he had himself experienced, during his ejectment, from Ken's sister, and her husband, Isaac Walton, in their retirement near Stafford. Morley afterwards appointed Ken his domestic chaplain, and presented him to the rectory of Brixton, in the Isle of Wight. In 1674, Ken made a tour to Rome, and soon after his return he was appointed chaplain to the princess of Orange, whom he accompanied to Holland. His stay in the royal suite was rendered uncomfortable to him by the consequences of a too conscientious discharge of his duties; and in 1683, he accepted of Lord Dartmouth's chaplainry, and accompanied that nobleman on his expedition against Tangier. On his return he was appointed chaplain to the king; but this mark of royal favour did not shake the high integrity of Ken, or render him more subservient to the royal pleasure in things unlawful. On the removal of the licentious monarch's court to Winchester, Ken's prebendal house was selected for the use of the infamous Nell Gwynn; but the possessor boldly refused to receive such a character within his doors, and Mrs Gwynn was compelled to look about for some less scrupulous landlord. The king took a proper view, however, of his chaplain's conduct, and to the surprise of his courtiers, soon afterwards nominated him bishop of Bath and Wells. Ken repaid the generosity of the dissipated monarch by attending him with the most anxious solicitude when on his death-bed; and Bishop Burnet declares that he expressed himself on that trying occasion "with great elevation of thought and expression, like a man inspired."

In 1685, Bishop Ken published an 'Exposition of the Church Catechism,' and in the same year a collection of 'Prayers for the use of the Bath.' He did not take any immediate part in the popish controversy, which now began to be agitated with so much keenness; but he was one of the famous seven bishops who openly opposed the reading of the declaration of indulgence, and was committed to the tower in consequence. He did not, however, see his way so clearly in the case of the oath of allegiance to King William, and on his refusal to take it was deprived of his bishopric in 1691. He retired to Long-Leat, the hospitable seat of his early friend, Lord Weymouth, where he composed several devotional works, and some beautiful hymns. Queen

Anne settled a pension of £200 upon him. He died at Lewson house, near Sherborne, in the 73d year of his age. He had kept his shroud for many years beside him, and on finding himself dying, he calmly put it on with his own hands, and having given his parting blessing to all present, gently laid down his head, breathed a sigh, and was at rest. His works were published in 1721, in 4 vols. 8vo., with a life by Hawkins prefixed. The Rev. W. L. Bowles has also written a life of this amiable prelate, in 2 vols. 8vo.

Archbishop Sancroft.

BORN A. D. 1617.—DIED A. D. 1693.

WILLIAM SANCROFT, one of the most conscientious, if not one of the most able primates of England, was born at Fresingfield, in the county of Suffolk, on the 30th of January 1617. He received the rudiments of his education at Bury. At the age of eighteen, he was sent to Emanuel college, Cambridge, of which his uncle, Dr William Sancroft, was then master. In 1642, he succeeded to a fellowship in his college. The 'solemn league and covenant' was soon after this proposed to the heads and fellows of colleges, but by what means Sancroft escaped the consequences of this test, it is now impossible to determine. He retained his fellowship, and it has been suggested that he may have succeeded in doing so through the interference of Milton, who, though not yet in public life, must have had considerable influence both in the house of commons and in the assembly of divines, and may have exerted himself in favour of a brother-poet, for Sancroft had also cultivated the muses, and professed himself an admirer of Milton's poetry. Soon afterwards, the use of the liturgy was prohibited, and public prayer, according to the directory, enjoined to be put up in every church and chapel in the kingdom. A friend advised Sancroft to yield to necessity and conform in this case, but he replied, "I do not, indeed, count myself obliged to go to chapel and read common prayer till my brains be dashed out; but to comply, by praying according to the directory, would be to throw a foul aspersion on the whole church of England since the reformation; and shall I pray for your synod and army, or give thanks for your covenant?" At last, in the month of July 1651, he gave proof of his sincerity by incurring the forfeiture of his fellowship rather than take the 'engagement,' as it was called.

For some years after his expulsion from Cambridge, Mr Sancroft seems to have lived chiefly with his elder brother at Fresingfield. During this period he published two tracts which made considerable noise. The first a dialogue in Latin, was entitled, 'Fur Prædestinatus,' and was intended to hold up the doctrines of Calvinism to ridicule; the other, entitled 'Modern Policies, taken from Machiavel, Borgia, and other choice authors, by an eye-witness,' was a satire on the supposed fanaticism and hypocrisy of the party in power. The latter tract was but published in 1652, but passed through seven editions in the short space of five years. Of the 'Fur Prædestinatus,' Sancroft's biographer, Dr D'Oyly thus writes: "The exposure of the

Calvinistic doctrines was peculiarly serviceable at that time, when both the puritans and the independents, however they differed from each other on points of church discipline and government, yet concurred in maintaining those doctrines in their utmost rigour, and pushed them to the extreme of Antinomianism; thereby obstructing the natural influence of Christianity on the human heart, and giving a free rein to perverse and headstrong passions. A dialogue is feigned between a thief condemned to immediate execution, and a Calvinistic preacher, who came to move him to repentance for his crimes. The thief, although by his own acknowledgment he had lived in the commission of the worst enormities, is full of self-satisfaction; maintains that he could not possibly act any other part than he had done, as all men, being either elect or reprobate, are predestined to happiness or misery; that the best actions, as they are reputed, partake of so much wickedness as to differ in no essential degree from the worst; that sinners fulfil the will of God as much as those who most comply with his outward commands; and that God, as working irresistibly in all men, is the cause of the worst sins which they commit. He says, that he had always reflected respecting himself in this manner—that either he must be elect or reprobate; if the former, the Holy Spirit would operate so irresistibly as to effect his conversion; if the latter, all his care and diligence for effecting his salvation, would rather do harm than good; but now, he felt satisfied that he was one of the elect, who, though they may fall into grievous sins, cannot fail of salvation."

In 1657, Sancroft quitted England, with an intention of taking up his residence in Holland; but, after visiting Amsterdam, the Hague, and Utrecht, he was persuaded to accompany a friend in a tour through the south of Europe. The restoration of Charles II. having brought Sancroft back to England, he was appointed chaplain to Bishop Cosin, and preached his consecration sermon. Preferments now flowed rapidly upon him. In 1662 he was elected master of Emanuel college, and at the close of the year 1664, the king conferred on him the deanery of St Paul's, at the request of Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury, and Henchman, bishop of London. While dean of St Paul's, he eagerly promoted the design for building a new church suitable to the dignity of the see; and it was mainly through his exertions and bounty that the magnificent plan of Sir Christopher Wren was at last adopted. The first stone of the new cathedral was laid under the superintendence of Dr Sancroft as dean, but it was not completed till long after his death.

On the death of Sheldon, in 1677, Dr Sancroft, much to his own surprise, as well as that of all who were acquainted with his habits, was elevated at once to the primacy. Bishop Burnet hints that Sancroft may have been indebted for this piece of good fortune to an opinion which the court may have entertained of him, that he was a man more likely to be gained over to their secret wishes than any member of the existing prelacy. But of any thing like the slightest disposition on the part of Sancroft ever to temporize with popery, we most unhesitatingly acquit him. In fact, in a sermon which he preached before the peers, soon after his elevation to the archiepiscopal chair, he attacked the Jesuitical party with a zeal and bitterness at that time peculiarly his own; and one of the very steps which he took after his promotion,

was to solicit the king's permission to attempt the conversion of the duke of York from the errors of the church of Rome. The solicited permission was granted, and the prelate's address to the duke, which has been preserved, evinces how truly in earnest he was in his wish to win James over to the reformed faith and practice of the church of England. The suspension of Dr Wood, the infamous bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, is also highly creditable to his integrity and zeal. When Charles was laid on his deathbed, the archbishop was summoned to attend him in his dying moments. He addressed the king in a weighty exhortation, and with much freedom of speech, but his faithfulness was lost on the wretched monarch, who preferred to have the last offices of religion administered to him by Romish priests.

In 1685, on the accession of James II, Sancroft's difficulties began. Deceived by the assurances which the king gave that he would support the church as established by law. the archbishop presented to him an address in his own name, and that of the other bishops. He likewise placed the crown on his majesty's head. But it has been disproved by Dr D'Oyly that he officiated on this occasion, without insisting on the administration of the sacrament, as Burnet insinuates. His refusal to act under the ecclesiastical commission which James issued, and his petitioning with the six bishops against reading the king's declaration for liberty of conscience, were acts which gave great offence at court. We have elsewhere noted the issue of this contest. When the infatuated monarch became aware of the danger of his situation, he sent for the archbishop in haste and earnestly besought his advice how to regain the ground which he had lost in the affections of his people. Sancroft complied with the request of his sovereign, and drew up ten articles for his consideration, in the last of which he firmly but respectfully stipulates for permission to attempt the conversion of the king himself from the errors of popery. James promised to listen to his advice, and commanded him to compose public prayers suited to the state of the kingdom at this critical period.

On the king's first departure from his capital, Sancroft was foremost to sign the address to the prince of Orange, praying him to summon a parliament. But he had already wavered greatly as to the line of conduct which it was his duty to pursue with respect to the prince. There is extant a paper in his own handwriting, in which he discusses three different modes of settling the government. The first was to declare the prince of Orange—who, at the instance of the nobility and some commoners, was administering the public affairs both civil and military —king, and solemnly to crown him. A second plan was to set up the next heir to the crown after the king's death, and to crown her. The third was, "To declare the king, by reason of his unhappy principles, and his resolution to act accordingly, incapable of the government, with which such principles are inconsistent and incompatible, and to declare the prince of Orange *custos regni*, who shall carry on the government in the king's right and name." To the last of these modes he gave a decided preference, reasoning on what must be done in hereditary monarchies when the king is rendered incapable of directing the government through 'delicacy,' or otherwise. Yet, though he thus seems to have made up his mind as to what should be done, he obstinately refused to introduce the subject to the peers; and when all public func-

tionaries were required to take an oath of allegiance to King William, he, with nine other prelates, refused to comply, pleading their previous oath to King James, his heirs, and successors. He was still, however, allowed to continue in the exercise of his metropolitical powers until the 1st of August, 1689, when he was suspended from office. On the 1st of February following, he was, with five other bishops, deprived by act of parliament, without any previous trial or censure. On the 3d of August, he finally left the metropolis, and retired to Fresingfield, the place of his nativity, which he never afterwards quitted. He spent the remainder of his life in great privacy, and died on the 24th of November, 1693.

We have already expressed our opinion of the integrity of this prelate's character. We think that he gave repeated evidence of his readiness to sacrifice all worldly advantage to what he believed to be his duty at the time. Yet he was not without many foibles, and even some of the darker traits of character. He was austere in his own life, and intolerant towards others. In some things too he was inconsistent. He maintained the doctrine of passive obedience, yet on James's first departure from his capital, the archbishop himself went from Guildhall, and having demanded and obtained the keys of the Tower, delivered them over as by order from the lords, to Lord Lucas, which, as has been observed in a tract attributed to Lord Somers, "would have been as real acts of læsæ majestatis, if King James had not forfeited the duty and obedience of his subjects as if he had stabbed him to the heart." His literary character presents nothing very remarkable; his style partook largely of all the common defects in the taste of the age, but is often highly terse and piquant. The archbishop's life has been recently written by Dr D'Oyly, in two volume , octavo.

William Bates, D. D.

BORN A. D. 1625.—DIED A. D. 1699.

DR WILLIAM BATES, a distinguished puritan divine, was born Nov. 1625, in the very year that Charles I. succeeded to the throne. Neither his ancestry nor his birth-place has been left on record.[1] In fact, no regular account of him at all has been transmitted from his contemporaries; a circumstance rather singular, considering the esteem which he commanded, and the eminence he reached among the men of his generation. Howe, who seems to have been longest and best acquainted with him, having known him, as he tells us himself, above forty years, has left us no other memorial of his friend than the funeral sermon preached upon his death, and which, though marked with much of its author's usual power and grandeur, and sketching the character of Bates with great felicity and fulness, has scarcely even furnished us with the outlines of his life.

More fortunate than some of his nonconforming brethren of that age, he enjoyed the advantages of a university education, and commenced his studies at Cambridge, being early admitted to Emanuel college;

[1] See Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial.

and, in 1644, removed to King's college, where, in 1647, he obtained his degree as Bachelor of Arts. He attached himself to the presbyterian party, and early commenced the public duties of his office, in which he very speedily obtained that high popularity which attended him to the last. His first charge was that of St Dunstan's, London, where he was appointed vicar, and where he remained till ejected by the act of uniformity in 1662. While there, he united himself with several other ministers in carrying on the morning lectures in Cripplegate church. In the restoration of Charles II. he took an active part, and was soon after appointed one of his majesty's chaplains. In the following November he received from the university of Cambridge the degree of Doctor in divinity, by an express royal mandate. About this time too he was offered the deanery of Litchfield and Coventry, but, along with several of his brethren, who were presented with similar bribes by the court, he, from conscientious scruples, declined the offer.[2] It is said, that from the high and general estimation in which he was held, he might, by conformity to the dominant church, have secured any bishopric in the kingdom. At the same time it is evident that high as he stood, he was not reckoned the first of his party; for whilst he and Manton were offered deaneries, Baxter and Calamy had the credit of refusing bishopries.[3] In 1660 he was appointed one of the commissioners at the celebrated Savoy conference. This conference was summoned by a royal commission, and met at Savoy, the bishop of London's lodgings. Its object was "to advise upon and revise the book of common prayer."[4] It consisted of a great many commissioners, episcopalian and presbyterian, and was carried on at considerable length, and with great keenness of discussion; though it terminated altogether unsuccessfully. Baxter, in the second part of his 'Life and Times,' has left us a very clear and copious narrative of the whole proceedings, into which, however, it is unnecessary to enter, farther than to select a slight anecdote of Dr Bates, of whom Baxter says "he spoke very solidly, judiciously, and pertinently." Baxter had said something in the course of debate, which Bishop Morley, the most vehement and unreasonable of his party, interpreted to mean, "that a man might be for some time without sin;" "upon which," says Baxter, "he sounded out his aggravation of this doctrine, and then cried to Dr Bates, What say you, Dr Bates, is this your opinion? saith Dr Bates, I believe we are all sinners, but I pray, my lord, give him leave to speak."[5]

In 1662 he was deprived of his charge in London by the celebrated 'act of uniformity;' and though never, like many of his brethren, cast into prison, nor subjected to such severe privations as most of them endured, yet he had much to undergo and to endure. Once when called to a deathbed along with Baxter, he was most providentially prevented from attending, though ignorant of the real danger he would have been exposed to from his enemies, who had stationed officers at the sick woman's house to seize him. In 1665 he took the oath imposed by the Oxford parliament, "that they would not, at any time,

[2] Baxter's Life and Times, part ii. p. 283.
[3] Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 303.
[4] Baxter's Life and Times, part ii. p. 304.—Burnet's own Times vol. i. p. 294.
[5] Baxter, part ii. p. 337.

endeavour an alteration in the government of church or state." In this he was joined by about twenty of his brethren, who, acting upon the interpretation given of it by the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, whom Bates consulted upon the point, 'came in at the sessions,' as Baxter tells us, and took the oath. Among the chief of those who followed him upon this occasion were Howe and Poole; and among those who stood out was Baxter, who could by no means be persuaded of the soundness of the Lord Keeper's explanation, "that by endeavours was meant unlawful endeavour," and who, therefore, notwithstanding a long letter from Dr Bates upon the subject, steadily persisted in his refusal, thinking the reasons contained in that letter by no means sufficient "to enervate the force of the objections to the oath, or to solve the difficulties."[6] In the beginning of the year 1668, some of the more moderate prelatists endeavoured to effect some sort of 'comprehension,' as it was called, by which, upon certain terms, the Dissenters might be admitted into the church. In this Dr Bates was actively concerned along with Manton and Baxter, on the presbyterian side. But the scheme met with such violent opposition from the leading prelates of the day, that it fell to the ground.[7] A little after this, we find him presenting, along with some of his brethren, an address to the king for the relief of the nonconformists; but though they were received most graciously, nothing was done, and as Baxter says, 'after all, they were as before.' Again, in 1674, we find him engaged in another fruitless attempt to secure some privileges to his brethren. Tillotson and Stillingfleet sought an interview with him, and some other nonconforming ministers; the scheme was proposed, and the terms drawn up; but through the inveterate opposition of some of the more violent of the bishops, the attempt ended as the other had done. The accession of James II. to the throne by no means diminished the sufferings of the puritans. Upon several of them this event brought fresh hardships and trials. Among these was Baxter, and one of the most interesting scenes in the whole of that interesting and eventful period, is the narrative of his trial before Jefferies, when, attended by Dr Bates, he faced unmoved the brutal threats and profane ribaldry of that perverter of justice and persecutor of the saints. The whole scene is far too long for transcription here: the few sentences that refer to the subject of this memoir is all that is required. "Richard, Richard," exclaimed Jefferies, interrupting Baxter in his defence, "dost thou think we'll hear thee poison the court? Richard, thou art an old fellow, an old knave; thou hast written books enough to load a cart, every one as full of sedition as an egg is full of meat. . . . I know thou hast a mighty party, and I see a great many of the brotherhood incomers waiting to see what will become of their mighty don; and a Doctor of the party, (looking to Dr Bates,) at your elbow; but by the grace of Almighty God, I'll crush you all!"[8] At the accession of William, he presented the address of the Dissenters to their majesties; and ever after, till the day of his death, enjoyed the esteem and confidence of both king and queen. During the latter part of his life he was minister of a congregation at Hackney. He died there in 1699, aged 74. While residing there we meet with the following incident, narrated by Calamy, which

[6] Baxter, Life and Times, part iii. p. 13, 15.—Burnet, vol. i. p. 373.
[7] Baxter, ibid., p. 36. [8] Orme's Life of Baxter, p. 398.

is introduced here as being interesting in a literary way. A French minister, a refugee from the persecutions of the duke of Savoy, came over to England. Dr Bates being desirous to see him, asked Calamy to bring him to Hackney. When he was introduced, "he made a very handsome speech to the Doctor in Latin;" not one word of which the Doctor could understand, till Calamy interpreted. The Doctor then replied in Latin also, but not one word of his answer could Monsieur Amald comprehend till Calamy explained. The reason of this may be seen in our own day; when the English and foreign pronunciation of Latin are still as much at variance as ever; and this, as Calamy remarks, "shows the inconvenience of our using a different pronunciation of the Latin tongue from what is common among foreigners."[9]

He did not outlive his usefulness; but in spite of the growing infirmities of which he himself tells us in his funeral sermon for Dr Jacomb, preached and laboured to the last, a circumstance too common to be remarked in these days, but most unaccountably uncommon in ours. He seems to have been the intimate friend of Tillotson and Stillingfleet, who were men like himself, moderate and pacific in their church principles. He was in all respects a superior man, and entitled to stand high in the ranks of nonconformity. In person he is said to have been handsome, or as Howe terms it in his funeral sermon for him,—"of a self-recommending aspect, composed of gravity and pleasantness, with a graceful mien, and calmness of person." His character was amiable, his talents high, his learning extensive, his judgment clear and sound, and his memory remarkably strong. His works are by no means numerous or large, being originally comprised in one folio volume, and of late years modernized into four octavos. His largest work is his 'Harmony of the Divine Attributes,' which seems to have been intended for a system of divinity, and which, along with his discourses upon the existence of God, immortality of the soul, truth of the Christian religion, forms one of the compactest and completest systems of theology of which that period can boast. It is the production of a man of shrewd judgment and acute thought. Like Leighton among the Scotch divines, he seems to have risen superior to most of his contemporaries, in the adoption of a sounder philosophy, and the rejection of that abstruse and futile metaphysics which disfigured the writings of that age. His style is clear and polished, more of a modern air than any of his brethren, excepting Charnock. It is light and full of imagery; tasteful, but by no means powerful; attractive rather than impressive. He is said to have studied poetry and light literature; and a number of romances were found in his library at his death. He was an admirer of Cowley; and from some passages we would be tempted to believe he had studied Jeremy Taylor. There is far more compression and terseness in Bates than in Taylor; but by no means a dissimilarity in their general tone of style. But the divine whom he most resembles is Leighton. Like him his style is short and elegant rather than fluent and nervous. Like him he had abandoned the scholastic divisions and subdivisions in his discourses; and like him, almost nothing that wears the air of controversy is to be met with in his works. In this he most strikingly differed from

[9] Calamy's Life, vol i. p 219.

Baxter, who, though as eager and unremitting in his endeavours after peace and agreement, yet more than any other man mingled in the controversies of the day, and threw the colour of his public life over every practical treatise that he penned. Perhaps the most elegant of Bates' works, is his treatise entitled, 'The Four Last Things—Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell, practically considered and applied, in several discourses.' The discourses are admirable specimens of sound and practical theology, conveyed in an elegant and most attractive style. Any one, however, who reads it carefully, will find, that some of his best passages are just the expansion of ideas picked up in the course of an extensive study of the fathers. The same remark, indeed, applies to all his works. His treatises on 'Divine Meditation,' and on 'The Fear of God;' 'Spiritual Perfection;' and a few minor ones upon practical subjects, are excellent—but by no means to be classed among his best performances. His piece upon the 'Saints everlasting Rest in Heaven,' though a superior work, and well worthy of a perusal, will never bear comparison either with Baxter's 'Saints' Rest,' or Howe's 'Blessedness of the Righteous.' Besides all these practical works, he was the editor of a collection of lives of distinguished individuals, amounting to thirty-two, in Latin; a volume of great value, and now rather scarce. In Howe's sermon upon his death, his character is drawn with a fulness which it is impossible to transcribe, and with an exactness and felicity which it is impossible to abridge or imitate.

Bishop Stillingfleet.

BORN A. D. 1635.—DIED A. D. 1699.

Edward Stillingfleet was descended from the ancient family of the Stillingfleets of Stillingfleet, about four miles from York. He was the seventh son of Samuel Stillingfleet and Susannah, daughter of Edward Norris, Esq., after whom he was named. He was born, April 17th, 1635, at Cranbourne, Dorsetshire, where he first enjoyed the instructions of Mr Thomas Garden, and from whence he was removed to Ringwood, Hampshire, to be placed under the tuition of Mr Baulch, whose school having been founded by W. Lynne, Esq., enjoyed the privilege of having some of its scholars elected to exhibitions at the universities. This honour young Stillingfleet attained soon after he had entered his 14th year, and was admitted into St John's college, Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr Pickering, one of the Fellows. At the age of eighteen, he took the degree of B. A. and soon after obtained a fellowship, being already distinguished for his diligent application and eminent attainments. Soon after this period, he withdrew for a time from the university, and resided in the family of Sir Roger Burgoyne, at Wroxall, in Warwickshire, who subsequently became his patron, and introduced him to a considerable living. As soon as he was of sufficient standing, he took his degree of M. A., and became tutor in the family of Francis Pierpoint, Esq. brother of the marquess of Dorchester.

It was at this period that he wrote and published his 'Irenicum, or Weapon-Salve for the church's wounds,' 1659. It was designed to

reconcile dissenters, but it had the effect of offending many of the author's friends in the church, and of supplying the dissenters with a weapon against himself, on a subsequent occasion. He had, previously to this publication, obtained the rectory of Sutton, Bedfordshire. It is certain that he greatly differed in future years from himself when he wrote this work; and the best proof of it is given in the dedication of the ordination sermon at St Peter's, Cornhill, 1685; and, also at p. 148, of 'Several Conferences between a Popish Priest, a Fanatic Chaplain,' &c. where, in the person of P. D., he speaks freely of it, and says, "I believe there are many things in it, which, if Dr Stillingfleet were to write now, he would not have said: for there are some which show his youth and want of due consideration; others which he yielded too far, in hopes of gaining the dissenting parties to the church of England." His treatise, however, he republished in 1662, with an Appendix, concerning the power of excommunication. The same year he published his 'Origines Sacræ, or a rational account of Natural and Revealed Religion.' This was a work of great merit from so young a man, and induced Bishop Sanderson to say, when Stillingfleet was first introduced to him, that "he expected to have seen one as considerable for his age, as he had already shown himself for learning." Soon after this period, he was selected, as a proper person, to reply to 'Labyrinthus Cantauriensis,' a work written by T. C. against Laud's answer to Fisher the Jesuit. This work, together with the work on 'The Origin and Nature of Protestantism,' appeared before the end of the 1661, and greatly increased the reputation of Stillingfleet, and recommended him to the notice of Sir Harbottle Grimstone, master of the Rolls, who appointed him to the office of preacher at the Roll's chapel. This he held with his living at Sutton, but was soon after presented by the earl of Southampton, lord-treasurer, to the vacant rectory of St Andrew's, Holborn. After this, he was made preacher at the Temple. These offices introduced him to the acquaintance of Sir Matthew Hale and Judge Vaughan, and afterwards to the honourable station of chaplain to King Charles II. Hence he was still farther elevated to be a canon-residentiary, both of St Paul's and Canterbury. His fame still increasing with his promotion, he rose to be dean of St Paul's, and archdeacon of London. While rector of Sutton, he had married Andrea, the eldest daughter of W. Debyns, Esq. of Wormington, Gloucestershire, by whom he had two daughters, who died in infancy; and one son, Edward, who became D. D., and incumbent of Wood-Norton, Norfolk. His first wife dying, he married, some years after, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nicolas Pedley; by whom he had seven children, of whom only two survived him, viz. the Rev. James Stillingfleet, who became prebendary of Worcester, and Anne who married Humphrey Tyshe, Esq. of Gray's Inn.

In the year 1663, he became B. D., and in 1668, he kept a public act at Cambridge with great ability, and then proceeded D. D. In the year 1669, he published some sermons, one of which 'Concerning the sufferings of Christ,' made a considerable noise, and excited much controversy. The volume containing his sermons was subsequently enriched by an able 'Discourse on the true reasons of the sufferings of Christ.' After his death, there was also printed a continuation of this controversy, occasioned by some letters from dissenting ministers.

This was entitled, a 'Second Part.' After this, he published his work on the 'Idolatry, &c. of the Church of Rome;' and followed that up by replies to many opponents, and particularly to the author of 'The Guide in Controversies,' and Dr Godden. For some time he was sharply engaged with many popish adversaries, and produced various controversial tracts against them, of great learning and ability. But, in 1680, he was appointed to preach at Guildhall chapel before the judges and lord mayor, &c.; and this sermon, entitled 'The Mischief of Separation,' drew forth a new host of antagonists of a different sort. Owen, Baxter, and several others, attacked him, but the most witty of his opponents was Vincent Alsop. They all considered that his late sermon was a grievous departure from the comparatively liberal principles of his 'Irenicum.' To these several authors he subsequently replied in a goodly quarto, entitled 'The Unreasonableness of Separation.' This appeared in 1683; and in 1685 appeared the greatest of all his works, the 'Origines Britannicæ, or Antiquities of the Churches in Britain.'

About this period, the protestant cause seemed to be environed with perils, and the church in great danger of again lapsing into popery. Stillingfleet, however, stood forward on many occasions with his pen, and rendered eminent service to the cause of truth by his various publications, of which it is not easy to give a full account. The Revolution, however, happily rescued the church and the nation from the dangers to which both had been exposed, and upon the accession of King William, Dean Stillingfleet was made bishop of Worcester. Soon after this event, he again entered the lists with the Socinians, in a sermon preached at St Lawrence, Jewry. Upon this sermon an attack was made three years after in a work entitled, 'Considerations and Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity,' &c. To this he replied by republishing his former discourse against Crellius, with the obnoxious sermon, preceded by a long preface, concerning 'the true state of the controversy;' and the same year he followed this up by a discourse in vindication of the doctrine of the Trinity, with an answer to the Socinian objections. In this vindication, he had made some observations on Mr Locke's 'Essay on the Human Understanding,' to which Locke replied. Several letters passed between them, and Locke is generally allowed to have had the better of the argument. After he became bishop of Worcester, he wrote and published various charges and discourses to the clergy, all of which display great talents and much learning in canon law, &c. In his bishopric he was involved in much trouble, by his attempts to enforce the discipline of the church upon the clergy. The celebrated Dr Bentley became his chaplain, and was much indebted to the bishop's patronage, and greatly resembled him in being a leader of controversies, though of a very different order from those of the bishop. Two years before his own death, Dr Stillingfleet lost his second wife. He had continued in his bishopric about ten years, when his health rapidly declined, and he died in London of the common complaint of sedentary men,—a disease of the stomach. His death took place at his own house in Park-street, Westminster, March 27th, 1699. He was interred in his own cathedral church; where a handsome monument was erected to his memory, which is graced by an elegant Latin inscription from the pen of the celebrated Dr Bentley.

Bishop Stillingfleet may be justly considered one of the ablest pole-

mics of his age. In some things he is thought to have diverged in later life from the more tolerant and liberal opinions of his earlier days. But, as a scholar and divine, he may be said to have risen gradually, even in times of great excitement, to a measure of influence and fame which few of his contemporaries ever reached. His antiquarian researches are of the highest value, and will maintain for him a lasting niche in the temple of fame, whatever should be the fate of his theological treatises. Unhappily for the reputation of his controversial writings, many of their subjects are now become obsolete; and those which relate to topics of more general interest to the christian church, are superseded by modern works more adapted to the taste of the times, and undoubtedly more logical, though less erudite. In his private character he is described as amiable and liberal; but in his official station he is charged with sufficient loftiness and severity. There can be no doubt that he justly deserves the distinction assigned him, of being one of the most learned and able divines of the church of England, and one of the most successful defenders of the reformed doctrines. His works are collected into six folio volumes.

Oliver Heywood.

BORN A. D. 1629.—DIED A. D. 1702

OLIVER HEYWOOD, the sixth child of Richard and Alice Heywood, the representatives of an ancient family in the north of England, was born at Little Lever, in the county of Lancaster, in 1629. In his eighteenth year he was admitted to Trinity college, Cambridge, where he had a pious though somewhat eccentric tutor in Mr Akhurst, and enjoyed the pastoral ministrations of Dr Hammond, at that time preacher in St Giles's. He does not appear to have pursued his literary studies at Cambridge with much ardour. He says of himself at that period: "All the time I was in the university, my heart was much deadened in philosophical studies; nor could I, as I desired, apply my mind so closely to human literature, though I prize learning above all sublunary excellencies. I might have been more useful had I improved my time better therein. My time and thoughts," he adds, "were most employed on practical divinity, and experimental truths were most vivifying to my soul: I preferred Perkins, Bolton, Preston, and Sibbs, far above Aristotle or Plato."

In 1650, he accepted an invitation from a presbyterian congregation at Coley, near Halifax, to become their pastor. After he had laboured for several years in this obscure situation, the vicarage of Preston was offered to him by Sir Richard Houghton; but, with that singleness of heart which ever marked the whole conduct of this amiable man, he respectfully declined the preferment, believing that Coley presented a field of greater usefulness to him.

The political agitations of the times occasionally reached even to Heywood's retreat. He adhered to the king's party, and was consequently viewed with suspicion by the adverse side. On one occasion he was even imprisoned by a party of Colonel Lilburn's men, but no charge against him could be substantiated.

The Restoration was of course regarded as a most auspicious event by the pastor of Coley; but the proceedings of Charles and his minions soon convinced him that whatever political blessings might flow to the country from the re-establishment of the monarchy, the spiritual interests of the people were not to be benefited by the change. Heywood himself was one of the first to suffer from the virulence of the high church party. He was repeatedly threatened with suspension on account of his refusal to read the book of common-prayer in his church services; but his prudence and well-known loyalty protected him for a while against extreme measures. At last an order for his suspension was issued by the archbishop's chancellor; and this measure, harsh as it was, was followed by a still severer and more unjustifiable one. On the 22d of November, 1662, excommunication was published against him at Halifax, and he was solemnly forbidden to enter within the walls of any church within the diocese, on any occasion whatever. For some time he quietly submitted to the tyrannous edict, and refrained from preaching either in public or private. At last he awoke to a better sense of duty, and saw it to be incumbent on him to obey God rather than man. He now preached as he had opportunity, and many gladly availed themselves of his ministrations.

The 'Conventicle Act,' as it was called, was ultimately much evaded by the partial connivance of the authorities with whom its enforcement rested. Under this relaxation of severity, Heywood was enabled occasionally to preach to his old people at Coley. But information having been laid against him, his goods were distrained, and he avoided imprisonment with difficulty. It was at length confessed by the court that "there was very little fruit of all these forcible methods which had been used for reducing erring and dissenting persons." On the 15th of March, 1672, a declaration of liberty to all persons dissenting from the established church was issued by royal authority. The laws affecting dissenters, however, were not repealed, but only suspended, and the declaration itself was a stretch of the royal prerogative. Heywood now removed to North Owram, where he organized a christian society on the general principles of Presbyterianism, but so modified as to admit of the communion of Christians of other denominations. The recall of the royal license, in the following year, again drove Heywood from his public ministrations. He continued, however, to preach privately until apprehended and committed to York castle in 1685.

On the appearance of King James's declaration for general liberty of conscience, Heywood walked out of prison and resumed his pastoral labours, which he prosecuted with great fervour of spirit and signal success, till within a short time of his death. He died on the 4th of May, 1702. The Rev. J. Fawcett, and the Rev. R. Slate, have each written memoirs of this most amiable and exemplary non-conformist divine.

John Howe, M.A.

BORN A. D. 1630.—DIED A. D. 1705.

JOHN HOWE, the son of the Rev. Mr Howe, minister of the town of Loughborough in Leicestershire, was born May 17th, 1630. The living of this parish was given to Mr Howe by Archbishop Laud, and afterwards taken from him by the same person on account of the leaning he manifested to the principles of the puritans. *After his ejectment from this parish,* Mr Howe removed with his family to Ireland, but was shortly after obliged to return to his native country by the war which was raised against the protestants, and which raged for several years. On the return of the family to England they settled in Lancashire, and there Mr John Howe received his early education, but no memorial has been preserved either of the place in which, nor the persons by whom, he was instructed. He was sent at an early age to Christ college, Cambridge, where he pursued his studies with great diligence, and acquired the friendship of Dr Henry More, and Dr Ralph Cudworth, of whose characters and talents he became a warm admirer. The intimacy which Mr Howe contracted with these distinguished philosophers is thought to have been the source of that tincture of Platonic philosophy which is observable in his writings. At Cambridge Mr Howe continued till he took the degree of B. A., when he removed to Brazen-nose, Oxford. There he became Bible clerk in 1648, and took his bachelor's degree in 1649. He distinguished himself by great diligence and high attainments, and was at length elected fellow of Magdalene college. Here he enjoyed the friendship and constant society of some of the most distinguished men of the university and of the age. In 1652 he took the degree of M. A., and soon after was ordained by Mr Charles Herle[1] at Warwick in Lancashire, assisted by several ministers employed in chapelries in Mr Herle's parish. Mr Howe used to refer to his ordination with great satisfaction, saying, that he thought few in modern times had enjoyed so primitive an ordination.

Mr Howe was first settled at Great Torrington in the county of Devon, where his ministry was much esteemed and extensively successful. In March, 1654, he married the daughter of Mr George Hughes of Plymouth, a minister of great influence and reputation in that part of the country. With him Mr Howe kept up a weekly correspondence in Latin. A singular anecdote is related of this correspondence. A fire broke out in Mr Howe's habitation at Torrington, which at one time threatened the destruction of the house and of all the property it contained. But a violent rain came on which mainly contributed to extinguish the fire before it had done much injury. On that very day Mr Howe received one of the Latin letters from his father-in-law, which concluded with this singular prayer: *Sit ros cœli super habitaculum vestrum*—"may the dew of heaven be upon your dwelling." This singu-

[1] This Mr Charles Herle was a very distinguished man in his day, and after the death of Dr Twisse, was chosen prolocutor to the Westminster Assembly of divines

lar coincidence so wholly beyond the foresight of human minds, made a deep impression upon all the parties interested, and was especially marked with devout gratitude by Mr Howe.

The circumstances connected with his introduction to Cromwell when protector are especially worthy of the reader's notice. Mr Howe had some business which called him to London. Being there, he was detained longer than he expected, and having one, and only one Sunday to remain in town, his curiosity led him to the chapel at Whitehall. The protector, who was present, and who was generally observant of all persons about him, perceived the stranger, and suspecting that he was a country minister, watched him narrowly. Being much struck with his appearance, and persuaded that he was no ordinary man, he sent a messenger to say that he desired, after the conclusion of the service, to speak with him. Mr Howe, not a little surprised at being thus unexpectedly summoned to appear before the protector, nevertheless obeyed. After some inquiries as to who he was, and whence he came, Cromwell desired that he would preach before him the next Sunday. Mr Howe endeavoured to excuse himself, modestly declining the honour. But Cromwell told him it was a vain thing to attempt to excuse himself, for that he would take no denial. Mr Howe pleaded that having despatched his business in town, he was tending homewards, and could not be absent any longer without inconvenience. Cromwell inquired what damage he was liable to sustain, by tarrying a little longer. Mr Howe replied, that his people, who were very kind to him, would be uneasy, and think he neglected them, and slighted their respect. Cromwell promised to write to them himself, and send down one to supply his place; and actually did so; and Mr Howe stayed and preached as he was desired: and when he had given him one sermon, Cromwell still pressed for a second and a third; and at last after a great deal of free conversation in private, nothing would serve him (who could not bear to be contradicted, after he had once got the power into his hands,) but he must have him to be his household chaplain, and he would take care his place should be supplied at Torrington to the full satisfaction of his people. Mr Howe did all that lay in his power to excuse himself and get off; but no denial would be admitted. And at length (though not without great reluctance) he was prevailed with to comply, and remove with his family to Whitehall, where several of his children were born: and in this difficult station he endeavoured to be faithful, and to keep a good conscience. During Mr Howe's residence at Whitehall we find him lecturer at St Margaret's, Westminster, where he was greatly esteemed as a preacher, and highly respected for the urbanity, moderation, and uniform consistency of his conduct. While he held the situation of chaplain he employed his influence with the protector on behalf of good men of all parties, and was especially serviceable to Dr Seth Ward, afterwards bishop of Exeter and Salisbury. Indeed Mr Howe lost no opportunity of promoting the interests of religion and learning. Cromwell once said to him, in allusion to his frequent applications,—"You have obtained many favours for others, but I wonder when the time is to come that you will move for any thing for yourself and family." "A plain argument," says Calamy, "that he took him for a very disinterested person, and as free from selfishness as he was from partiality."

Although Mr Howe enjoyed a considerable share of the protector's favour, yet he was not afraid to risk it in the cause of truth. He observed, what he considered to be a fanatical opinion respecting faith in the efficacy of prayer, and an enthusiastical notion of the impression made on the minds of such as prayed that their prayers would be answered, whatever they might ask, and that this notion was a favourite one with the protector, and had been publicly taught by one preacher of note at Whitehall. He, therefore, determined publicly to oppose it, when it came to his turn to preach again before the protector. He accordingly did so, and observed that Cromwell listened with great attention, and would sometimes knit his brows and discover great uneasiness. Mr Calamy says, "Mr Howe told me, that when the sermon was over, a person of distinction came to him, and asked him if he knew what he had done—that Cromwell would be so incensed upon that discourse, that he (Mr H.) would find it difficult ever to make his peace with him, or secure his favour for the future." Mr Howe replied, "that he had but done his duty, and could leave the event with God." It appears, however, that though Cromwell became, or Mr Howe thought he became, cooler to him than formerly, yet he no otherwise expressed his dissatisfaction, and Mr Howe himself never had cause to regret what he had done. It is no little credit to the protector, that he continued his favours to Mr Howe, and never appeared further to withdraw that confidence he had reposed in him, although he had so boldly attacked a favourite opinion. This is what few persons in his exalted station would have done, and evinces a high respect for the sacredness of the ministerial office. In our opinion this anecdote is almost equally honourable to the magnanimity of both parties.

Mr Howe continued in his situation of chaplain at Whitehall till the death of Cromwell. After that event he was continued in the same situation by Richard Cromwell, and was present at the assembly of congregational ministers held at the Savoy, when they discussed the confession of their faith. He took no conspicuous part in the politics of that period, any more than in those of former times, but endeavoured to preserve his mind steadily fixed on his professional engagements. It is recorded of him, however, that he was decidedly opposed to Richard's dissolving his parliament at the instigation of the council of officers,—foreseeing, as he said he clearly did, that it would prove his ruin. After the deposition of Richard Cromwell, Mr Howe returned to his former charge at Great Torrington, where he continued quietly and zealously discharging his pastoral duties until the restoration. After that event he soon began to feel the hand of oppression and persecution. But on the passing of the act of uniformity, he was ejected from his living and exposed to much hardship. Some time after, falling accidentally into the company of the learned Dr Wilkins, bishop of Chester, who held Mr Howe in great esteem, the doctor told him the act of uniformity had produced consequences at which he was a little surprised: some, he observed, whom he should have thought too stiff and rigid ever to have fallen in with the establishment, had conformed, while others, whom he thought possessed sufficient latitude to conform, had stood out and continued non-conformists; and he intimated to Mr Howe, that he took him to be of the latter description. Among other observations Mr Howe replied, that his *latitude* of which the doctor

had been pleased to take notice, was so far from inclining him to conformity, that it was the very thing that made him and kept him a nonconformist.

After his ejectment Mr Howe continued for some time to reside in the neighbourhood of his late charge, preaching when opportunity offered in the private houses of his friends. On one of these occasions, upon his return home from a visit to a gentleman's house where he had been spending some days, he was informed that an officer from the bishop's court had been to inquire after him, and had left word that there was a citation out, both against himself and the gentleman at whose house he had been preaching. Upon this, the next morning he rode to Exeter, and soon after alighting from his horse, a dignified clergyman, who was acquainted with him, saw him in the street, and expressed much surprise at seeing him there, telling him that a process was out against him, and that as he was so well known he did not doubt but he would soon be apprehended. He then asked him whether he would not himself wait upon the bishop. But Mr Howe thought it best not to do so unless the bishop should hear that he was there and send for him. Upon this the clergyman said he would wait upon the bishop, and soon return with an intimation of what would be acceptable to his lordship. Accordingly he soon returned with an intimation that the bishop would be glad to see him. When he arrived at the palace, the bishop received him as an old acquaintance with great civility, and after expostulating with him on his non-conformity, which Mr Howe defended, he urged him to enter the church, assuring him that he might have considerable preferments, and at length he dismissed him in a very friendly manner. As the bishop took no notice of the process which had been issued, so neither did Mr Howe, but taking his horse, rode home, and heard no more of the matter, either in reference to himself, or the gentleman at whose house he had officiated.

Several years now passed away, during which Mr Howe, and many of his brethren, were much harassed, and occasionally imprisoned. At length, in 1671, he accepted the office of chaplain to Lord Massarene, who lived at Antrim in Ireland. He, therefore, removed thither with his family and was treated with great respect. His great learning, talents, and piety, soon procured him the friendship of the bishop of that diocese, together with the favour of the metropolitan, both of whom gave him liberty to preach in the church at Antrim as often as he pleased, without conforming to the peculiarities of the Church of England. He continued about four years in this situation, when he received an invitation to succeed Dr Lazarus Seaman in the charge of his congregation at Silver-street, London. This invitation he embraced, and in 1675 removed to London. Here he made a peaceable use of King Charles's indulgence, preaching to a considerable and judicious auditory, by whom he was most fondly esteemed. During this period he had the happiness not only of being beloved by his own brethren, but of being highly respected by such men as Doctors Tillotson, Whichcot, Kidder, Fowler, and Lucas, with many others. In 1680, a bill was brought into parliament for "uniting his majesty's protestant subjects," which seemed to promise a liberal comprehension. With this view Bishop Lloyd sent Mr Howe an invitation to dine with him; but, being engaged, he next invited him to meet him at the house of

Dean Tillotson. They accordingly all met, had a conversation, and agreed to meet again the next evening at the house of Dean Stillingfleet. But the bill of exclusion being that evening thrown out of the house of peers, the bishop absented himself, and there was no further talk of comprehension. Dr Tillotson that year was called to preach before the king, and in the course of his sermon maintained "that no man is obliged to preach against the religion of a country, though a false one, unless he has a power of working miracles." The king slept during the greater part of the discourse As soon as it was over, a distinguished nobleman stepped up to the king, and said, "'Tis a pity your majesty slept, for we have had the rarest piece of Hobbism that ever you heard in your life."—"Odds fish, he shall print it then!" said the king, and immediately directed the Lord Chamberlain to communicate his will to the dean. When it came from the press, Dr Tillotson, as was usual with him, presented a copy to Mr Howe. who, on the perusal was not a little concerned to find that Dr Tillotson entertained so pernicious a sentiment. He therefore drew up a long letter, in which he freely expostulated with the dean, for giving such a wound to the Reformation, and went himself to present his letter. Upon the sight of him, and an understanding of the purport of the visit, the dean proposed a short journey into the country, that they might talk the matter over without interruption. They accordingly agreed to dine that day with Lady Falconbridge, at Sutton Court; and Mr Howe, in their way thither, read over his letter to the dean. At length the good doctor fell to weeping freely, saying, "This was the most unhappy thing that had of a long time befallen him." He owned that what he had asserted was not to be maintained; and urged in his excuse, that he had but a short notice to preach, and none to print the sermon. This anecdote places the character of both these good men in a very amiable light.

The dissenters were exposed to very severe and general persecution some few years before the revolution. In consequence of these troubles Mr Howe relinquished his public labours, and accepted an invitation from Lord Wharton to accompany him on his travels through several foreign countries. In the course of these journeys he visited the principal continental nations, and enjoyed the advantage of intercourse with many learned foreigners, both catholic and protestant. In 1686 he gave up the prospect of returning to his native country, considering that its prospects were in all respects growing darker. He therefore settled at Utrecht, and took his turn in preaching at the English church in that city. Here also he engaged in assisting some of the English students to prosecute their studies at that university. His residence at Utrecht is said to have brought him into acquaintance with many eminent English men who had withdrawn from the troubles which agitated, or which threatened their native country. Here he became acquainted with Dr Burnet, afterwards bishop of Salisbury. Once conversing with the doctor freely upon various subjects, Burnet called his attention to non-conformity, observing, that in his opinion it could not last long; but that when Mr Baxter, Dr Bates, himself, and a few more, were laid in their graves, it would sink and come to nothing. In reply, Mr Howe observed, that he was led to entertain just the contrary opinion, in consequence of its depending not upon *persons*,

but *principles*, which, when approved of after serious and sincere inquiry, could not be laid aside by men of conscience.

While Mr Howe continued in Holland he was admitted to frequent audiences with the prince of Orange, afterwards William III. who conversed familiarly with him, and ever after retained for him a peculiar degree of respect. Upon the declaration issued by King James in favour of liberty of conscience, in 1687, Mr Howe returned to England and resumed his ministerial labours, although he openly declared against the king's dispensing power. In the discharge of his pastoral duties he continued to enjoy the liberty illegally conceded, till the revolution placed the rights of dissenters upon a firmer basis than royal will.

After the revolution he enjoyed some considerable influence at court, and was frequently admitted to familiar intercourse by King William. He appears, however, never to have intermeddled needlessly with public affairs. His studies, his various publications, and the duties of his pastoral office fully occupied his time, and demanded all the energies he could devote to them. He lived to enjoy the repose and liberty which the revolution brought with it, seventeen years, and part of these was consumed in a succession of painful disorders. He died in 1705, at the age of seventy-five. Mr Howe was tall and graceful in his person. "He had a piercing but pleasant eye; and there was something in his aspect that indicated uncommon greatness, and excited veneration. His intellectual accomplishments were of the first order. Those who are acquainted with his writings will discover great abstractedness of thought, strong reasoning, and a penetrating judgment. Even Wood, the Oxonian, who seldom had a good word for a non-conformist, passes a high encomium upon Mr Howe." There are indeed few of the divines of any school who displayed so many excellencies and so few defects. His works may be classed among the very first, both for eloquence and depth of judgment. "His ministerial qualifications were very extraordinary. He could preach extempore with as great exactness as many others upon the closest study. His sermons, which were always delivered without notes, were often of uncommon depth, especially at the beginning, but were plain in the sequel, and towards the close generally came home with great force to the consciences of his hearers."

His works, which are numerous, have been all published in 6 vols. 8vo, with a life. The several treatises, letters, sermons, &c. are too numerous to be here detailed. They have been the admiration of learned men of all parties, and are to the present day perhaps among the most choice writings of the old divines. His reputation will suffer in comparison with no theologian of his own age, nor indeed of any other. Mr Granger speaks of him as one of the most learned and polite writers among the dissenters, and says there is an uncommon depth of thought in several of his works. Dr Doddridge observes, "he seems to have understood the gospel as well as any uninspired writer; and to have imbibed as much of its spirit. The truest sublime is to be found in his writings, and some of the strongest pathos. He has a great variety of uncommon thoughts; and on the whole, is one of the most valuable writers in our language, and, I believe, in the world."[1]

[1] Life by Calamy. Wilson's Dissenting Church, vol III p. 29.

Thomas Gale, D. D.

BORN A. D. 1634.—DIED A. D. 1702.

THIS learned divine was born in the year 1634, at Scruton in Yorkshire. He was educated at Westminster school, from which he removed to Cambridge, where he continued several years, became a fellow of Trinity-college, and afterwards Greek professor in that university. How long he continued in this situation is uncertain; but in the year 1672 he was chosen head-master of St Paul's school, and soon after had the honour to be named by the city to compose those inscriptions engraved upon the Monument, which have been so much censured and celebrated, for which he was, by the corporation of London, rewarded with a piece of plate. In the year 1676 he received a more ample remuneration, for he was made a prebendary of St Paul's, being one of those termed *consumpt. per mare.*

Dr Gale had, as soon as he was qualified, taken the degree of doctor of divinity; he was also chosen a fellow of the royal society. About the year 1697 he made a donation to the new library of Trinity-college of a great number of Arabic manuscripts. Having continued head-master of St Paul's school twenty-five years, he, in the same year, 1697, was preferred to the deanery of the metropolitan church of York, in which situation his piety, hospitality, and benevolence, were equally conspicuous; as was also his care for, and good government of the chapter, and his assiduity in repairing and beautifying that venerable cathedral.

Dr Gale did not long enjoy the elevated station to which his merits had raised him. He died at his deanery, April 8th, 1702, leaving behind him the character of a learned divine, a great historian and antiquary, and one of the best Grecians of his time.

The several works which he published are equal evidences of his indefatigable industry and erudition, as the following catalogue of them will evince:—'Herodoti Hallicarnassei Historiarum, lib. 9;' 'Iamblichus de Mysteriis Ægyptiorum;' 'Rhetores Selecti;' 'Historiæ Poeticæ Scriptores Antiqui;' 'Opuscula Mythologica, Physica, et Ethica;' 'Græcum Psalterium juxta Exemplar Alexandrinum;' 'Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum Veterum. Tom. I. quorum Ingulphus nunc primum integer cæteri primum prodeunt;' 'Historiæ Britannicæ et Anglicanæ Scriptores. XXV. Vol 2d;' besides which, among his papers, the following manuscripts were found nearly ready for the press; some of which have since been published, though, perhaps, not exactly in the form in which he left them. 'Iamblicus de Vita Pythagoræ;' 'Origenis Philocalia variis MSS. collectat, emendata nova Versione donata;' 'Antonini Imperatoris Itinerarium Inscriptionibus et Scholiis Illustratum per T. G.'

Dr Gale left also a noble library of curious and valuable books and manuscripts, together with a considerable estate to his son and heir, Roger Gale, Esq. Conversant with the literati of our own nation, his literary talents were equally esteemed by foreigners, among whom he had a particular correspondence with the learned Huetius, Mabillon,

Allix, and many others, who have in their works paid the greatest respect to his character and abilities.

Bishop Beveridge.

BORN A. D. 1636.—DIED A. D. 1707.

WILLIAM, second son of the Rev. William Beveridge, B. D., was born early in the year 1636–7, at Barrow, in the county of Leicester; of which place his grandfather, father, and elder brother were succesively vicars. After receiving the first rudiments of education under the tuition of a learned father, he was sent to the free-school at Oakham, in the county of Rutland, where he continued two years under the care of Mr Freer, the then master. On the 24th of May, 1653, he was admitted as a sizar, or poor scholar, in St John's college, Cambridge. During his residence at college he acquired general esteem, not only for his early piety, seriousness of mind, and his exemplary sobriety and integrity of life, but also for his diligent application to the course of studies prescribed by the university. The learned languages he cultivated with particular attention, and by his assiduous study of the oriental languages, he in no long time attained such a proficiency as enabled him, at the early age of eighteen, to compose a Latin treatise on the 'Excellency and Use of the Oriental Tongues, especially the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Samaritan;' together with a grammar of the Syriac language, in three books. This was given to the public in 1658. Two years before, in 1656, he had taken his degree of bachelor of arts, and in 1660 he proceeded to that of master.

On the 3d January, 1660–1, he was ordained deacon in the church of St Botolph, Aldersgate, by Dr Robert Saunderson, bishop of Lincoln; and priest, in the same church, on the 31st of the same month: about which time, Dr Gilbert Sheldon, who then presided over the see of London, collated him to the vicarage of Yealing, or Ealing, in the county of Middlesex. How deeply he felt the responsibility of the pastoral office, we may easily perceive from his 'Private Thoughts,' (a work known to have been written in his earlier years, on his first entrance into holy orders, though it was not given to the public till after his decease); in one of which he expresses his resolution, "by the grace of God, to feed the flock over which God shall set him, with wholesome food, neither starving them by idleness, poisoning them with error, nor puffing them up with impertinencies."

Mr Beveridge continued at Ealing nearly twelve years, assiduously occupied in the duties of his sacred office; amidst which, however, he found leisure to continue his learned studies. The result of these appeared in his 'Institutiones Chronologicæ,' an elementary work on chronology, published in 1669; of which succeeding writers have not failed to avail themselves. This treatise is dedicated to Dr Humphrey Henchman, who had succeeded Bishop Sheldon in the see of London, and by whom he was subsequently promoted. Three years afterwards, namely, in 1672, Mr Beveridge printed at Oxford his great Collection of the Apostolic Canons, and of the Decrees of the Councils received by the Greek Church, together with the Canonical Epistles of the

Fathers, in two large folio volumes, in Greek and Latin; and illustrated these venerable remains of ecclesiastical antiquity with copious prolegomena and annotations. On the 22d of November, in the same year, he was chosen rector of St Peter's, Cornhill, by the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London. On this occasion he resigned the vicarage of Ealing.

The multiplicity and variety of Mr Beveridge's pastoral labours, at this period of his active and useful life, appear to have left him but *little leisure for preparing any thing for the press,* excepting a vindication *of his Collection of the Canons of the Primitive Church, in reply* to the Observations of an anonymous author, which appeared in Latin, in 1679; in which year he proceeded to the degree of D. D. He was not, however, long unrewarded. His singular merit having recommended him to the favour of his diocesan, Bishop Henchman, he was collated by him on the 22d of December, 1674, to the prebend of Chiswick, in the cathedral of St Paul's, London; and on the 3d of November, 1681, he was also collated by his successor, Bishop Compton, to the archdeaconry of Colchester. In discharging the duties of this responsible office, he evinced the same vigilant, regular, and exemplary conduct, which he had previously shown in every station of life. For, not satisfied with the false, or at least imperfect, reports, which at that period were delivered by churchwardens at visitations, he visited in person every parish within the limits of his archdeaconry; and took a very minute and exact account of the state of every church he visited, as well as of the residences of the clergy. These particulars were carefully registered in a book, for the benefit of his successors in that dignity.

On the 5th of November, 1684, he was installed prebendary of Canterbury, in the room of Dr Peter Du Moulin, deceased; and some time between the following year and 1688 he became the associate of the learned and pious Dr Horneck, in directing the religious societies which began to be formed in London in the reign of James II and which greatly contributed to the revival of religious feeling in the metropolis, whence it extended into different parts of the country. The object of the religious societies, in the direction of which Dr Beveridge held so conspicuous a place, was first and principally, to promote edification and personal piety in their several members; to effect which purpose their rules appear to have been well-calculated. They did not, however, confine themselves to this single design, but endeavoured to promote piety in others, in various ways. With this view they procured sermons to be preached every Sunday evening in many of the largest churches in the city, either by way of preparation for the Lord's Supper, or to engage communicants to a suitable holiness of life after partaking of that sacrament, which they procured to be administered in many churches every Sunday. They farther extended their charity to deserving objects in all parts of London, and its suburbs; and by the pecuniary collections which were made by their influence, many clergymen were maintained to read prayers in so many places, and at so many different hours, that devout persons might have that comfort at every hour of the day. Among other benefits which resulted from these religious associations, was the institution of societies for reformation of manners, and the establishment of the two societies for propa-

gating the gospel in foreign parts, and for promoting Christian knowledge at home and abroad; both of which subsist to this day, with increasing activity and usefulness.

In the year 1689, Dr Beveridge was president of Sion college; in which capacity he preached the anniversary Latin sermon to the clergy of the city of London; and on the 20th of November, in the same year, he preached the 'Concio ad Clerum' in Westminster abbey, before the convocation held by the bishops and clergy of the province of Canterbury, on occasion of the Bill of Comprehension which was then in agitation. The "Scheme of Comprehension," as it is commonly termed, had been projected in 1668, by the lord-keeper of the great seal, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Bishop Wilkins, Lord-chief-justice Hale, and several other distinguished persons, for relaxing the terms of conformity to the established church in behalf of moderate dissenters, and admitting them into communion with the church. The bill, which was drawn up by Lord-chief-justice Hale, was disallowed. The attempt was renewed in 1674, by Dr Tillotson and Dr Stillingfleet; and, though the terms were settled to the satisfaction of the nonconformists, the bishops refused their assent. After the ever-memorable Revolution in 1688, the question was again agitated; and King William III., by the advice of Dr Tillotson and Bishop Burnet, submitted the business of comprehension to a synod of divines, as being the method at once the most acceptable to the clergy, and the best calculated to silence the popish objectors, who sneered at a religion established by acts of parliament. Accordingly a commission was issued to thirty of the most eminent divines, (ten of whom were bishops,) among whom we find the names of Tillotson, Burnet, Tenison, Patrick, Beveridge, Stillingfleet, and Kidder, directing them to prepare such alterations as they should judge expedient in the liturgy and canons, together with proposals for reformation in ecclesiastical courts, and in other matters relative to the church. All these changes were first to be submitted to convocation, and afterwards reconsidered in parliament. After four members of this committee had withdrawn in dissatisfaction, the remainder proceeded in the business referred to them; and, among many alterations too tedious to be mentioned here, proposed that lessons from the canonical books of Scripture should be substituted for those taken from the apocryphal books; that the Athanasian Creed, the damnatory clause of which was pronounced to be applicable only to those who denied the substance of the Christian faith, should be left to the option of the officiating minister; that new collects more glowing in devotion, should be drawn up, and a new version of the Psalms prepared; that the chanting of divine service in cathedral churches should be discontinued, and legendary saints be expunged from the calendar; that the cross in baptism, the surplice, and the posture of kneeling at the sacrament, should not in future be insisted on; that the absolution in the morning and evening service should be read by a deacon, the word "priest" being changed into "minister;" that the intention of the lent-fasts should be declared to consist not in abstinence from meats, but only in extraordinary acts of devotion; that sponsors in baptism should not be held essential; and that re-ordination, where presbyters had imposed hands, should be only conditional. These with many other alterations in the litany, communion-service, and canons, were designed to be submitted to the

approbation of the convocation before which Dr Beveridge was appointed to preach his 'Concio ad Clerum,' which was published in the same year by command of the bishops. From the text, (1 Cor. xi. 16.) "If any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the churches of God," it will readily be inferred that his opinion was against any concessions or alterations. The various changes, however, above noticed, were never adopted: the tories so far succeeded in alarming the public mind, that little could be expected from the convocation by the projectors of the conciliatory scheme of comprehension. As no disposition was manifested by that body to innovate upon the forms of the church, or to meet the conformists with concessions, they were prevented by the king from sitting for ten successive years, by repeated prorogations.

Some time in the year 1690, Dr Beveridge was nominated chaplain to King William and Queen Mary; and on the 12th of October, in the same year, he preached before her majesty his sermon 'On the Happiness of the Saints in Heaven,' which is deservedly accounted one of his best discourses. It was afterwards published by her majesty's command.

Dr Beveridge was one of those eminent divines whose learning, wisdom, piety, and moderation, caused them to be selected to fill the sees vacated by the deprivation of Archbishop Sancroft and seven bishops of his province, for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary. Dr Beveridge was nominated to the see of Bath and Wells. He took three weeks to consider of the subject, during which time Bishop Kenn, though deprived, continued to exercise all the episcopal functions, preaching and confirming in all parts of the diocese. Scrupulous, however, of filling an office, from which a conscientious, though, perhaps, mistaken principle of obedience, had excluded its former possessor, he at length declined the honour designed for him, and continued for thirteen years to discharge his more private and laborious duties, with an assiduity best evinced by the general success which attended his ministry. Nor, until within three years of his death, and when he had attained a very advanced age, did he accept the episcopal chair, being consecrated bishop of St Asaph on the 16th of July, 1704; which see was vacated by the translation of Dr George Hooper to the bishopric of Bath and Wells.

Being placed in this exalted station, his care and diligence increased in proportion as his power in the church was enlarged: and as he had before faithfully discharged the duty of a pastor over a single parish, so when his authority was extended to larger districts, he still pursued the same pious and laborious methods of advancing the honour and interest of religion, by watching over both clergy and laity, and giving them all necessary direction and assistance for the effectual performance of their respective duties. Accordingly, he was no sooner advanced to the episcopal chair, than he addressed a pathetic letter to the clergy of his diocese; in which he recommended to them the duty of catechising and instructing the people of their charge in the principles of the Christian religion; and in order to enable them to do this the more effectually, he, in the course of the same year, sent them a plain and easy exposition of the catechism of the church of England.

On the 5th of November, 1704, Bishop Beveridge preached before the house of lords the anniversary sermon on the deliverance from the

gunpowder treason; and on the 30th of January, in the following year, another on the martyrdom of King Charles I. In that august assembly he attended as often as the duties of his bishopric would permit him. On every occasion he evinced himself a steady defender of the rights and privileges of the church of England; and in the debates on the union of England and Scotland, he opposed that measure on account of the danger which he apprehended the church might sustain if it were carried into effect. The last time he was able to appear in the house of lords was on the 20th of January, 1707–8. Bishop Beveridge held the see of St Asaph only three years, seven months, and twenty days; dying at his apartments in the cloisters in Westminster-abbey, on the 5th of March, 1707-8, in the seventy-first year of his age.

Bishop Bull.

BORN A. D. 1634.—DIED A. D. 1709.

GEORGE BULL, bishop of St David's, was born at Wells, in Somersetshire, on the 25th of March, 1634. He was dedicated by his father to the church from his infancy; the parent having declared at the baptismal font, that if it pleased God to spare his son's life, he would educate him with a view to his entering into holy orders. The father died while his son was a mere child; but the wish which had been so near his heart, with regard to him, was ultimately gratified, young Bull having pursued his studies at Oxford with a steady view towards the ministerial profession. Previous to his being sent to the university, he had laid the foundations of his classical learning at the free school of Tiverton, the master of which, Samuel Butler, was an excellent classical scholar, and a successful teacher of youth. It was Butler's usual method, when he gave his boys themes for verses, to press them to exert themselves and do their best, because he judged how far each boy's capacity would carry him: but he always told George Bull that he expected from him verses like those of Ovid, "because," said he, "I know you can do it;" intimating that his scholar had a capacity and genius that enabled him to excel in such exercises.

While at Oxford, Bull attracted the notice of his tutors and superiors by his skill in dialectics, and his readiness and success as a disputant. He continued at Oxford till 1649, when he retired with the other members of the university who declined to take the new oath imposed by the parliament. Bull, accompanied by his tutor, Mr Ackland, withdrew to North Cadbury in Somerset, where he devoted his retirement to the further prosecution of those studies which he had begun at the university. About the age of twenty, he began to study the fathers of the English church, such as Hooker, Hammond, Taylor, and others, and shortly afterwards was ordained deacon and priest on the same day by Dr Skinner, the ejected bishop of Oxford. Bull was at this time short of the age required by the canons of his church in candidates for the priesthood; but the bishop thought that the pressure and difficulty of the times, and the need that the church was in of ministers with qualifications for the sacred office, of a stamp similar to those of Bull's,

authorised him to depart from the strict letter of the canon in his ordination.

His first benefice was that of St George's near Bristol, where he soon acquired great popularity by his assiduous attention to his parochial duties. As a preacher, too, he was highly popular. An incident which occurred soon after his coming to this living, contributed very much to the establishing of his reputation as a preacher. One Sunday when he had begun his sermon, as he was turning over his Bible to explain some texts of Scripture which he had quoted, it happened that his notes, contained in several small pieces of paper, flew out of his Bible into the middle of the church, upon which many of the congregation fell into laughter, concluding that the young preacher would be nonplussed for want of his materials; but some of the more sober and better-natured sort gathered up the scattered notes, and carried them to him in the pulpit. Bull took them, and perceiving that most of the audience—consisting chiefly of sea-faring persons—were rather inclined to triumph over him under that surprise, he clapped them into his book again and shut it, and then, without referring any more to them, went on with the subject he had begun. It happened once, while he was preaching, that a quaker came into the church, and in the middle of the sermon, cried out, "George, come down, thou art a false prophet and an hireling!" whereupon the parishioners, who loved their minister exceedingly, fell upon the poor quaker with such fury, that Mr Bull was obliged to come down out of the pulpit to quiet them, and to save him from the effects of their resentment. After they were somewhat pacified, Mr Bull began to expostulate with the quaker concerning his misbehaviour; but the people perceiving the silly enthusiast to be perfectly confounded, and not able to speak a word of sense in his own defence, fell upon him a second time with such violence, that had not Bull, by great entreaties, prevailed upon them to spare him, and to be satisfied with turning him out of the church, he would hardly have escaped with his life: Bull then went up again into the pulpit, and finished his sermon. These incidents, which we give nearly in the words of his biographer, Nelson, are sufficiently characteristic of the temper and spirit of the times in which Bull commenced his pulpit-ministrations. In 1658 he was presented to the rectory of Suddington-St-Mary, near Cirencester in Gloucestershire.

The Restoration opened the way for Bull's preferment in the church. In 1662, the lord-high-chancellor, Clarendon, presented him to the vicarage of Suddington-St-Peter's, at the special request of the diocesan, Bishop Nicholson. It was during the twenty-seven years that Bull held this vicarage and the adjoining rectory, that he wrote most of those works which have given him a high place among English episcopalian divines. His study, says Nelson, was at this period the scene of his most exquisite pleasure, and he would often declare that he tasted the most refined satisfaction in the pursuit of knowledge, and that, when his thoughts were lively and lucky in his compositions, he found no reason to envy the enjoyment of the most voluptuous epicure. His course of study, indeed, proved prejudicial to his health, because, for many years together, he dedicated the greatest part of the night to that purpose, and contented himself with little sleep.

In 1669 he published his 'Harmonia Apostolica,' in which he chiefly

laboured to reconcile the apostles Paul and James on the doctrine of justification, by this theory, that good works which proceed from faith, and are conjoined with faith, are a necessary condition required from us by God, in order to our justification. We need scarcely say that this proposition met with many opponents. It was particularly opposed by Morley, bishop of Winchester; by Dr Barlow, Margaret professor of divinity at Oxford; by Charles Gataker; by Joseph Trueman, whom Nelson aptly describes as "a person of a deep and searching genius;" by Dr Tully, principal of St Edmund's hall; John Tombes, Louis Du Moulin, and by De Marets, a French writer. Bull replied to some of these opponents in his 'Examen Censuræ,' and his 'Apologia pro Harmonia.'

In 1680 he finished his next celebrated work, entitled 'Defensio Fidei Nicenæ ex Scriptis quæ extant Catholicorum Doctorum, qui intra tria prima Ecclesiæ Christianæ sæcula floruerunt,' i. e. "A Defence of the Nicene Faith, from the writings, which are extant, of the Catholic Doctors who flourished within the three first centuries of the Christian Church." After Bull had finished this work, he offered the copy to three or four booksellers successively, who all refused it, being unwilling to venture the expenses of the impression; so that he brought it home, and entirely laid aside all thoughts of printing it, being in low circumstances himself, and having a large family to support. Thus this learned book might have been buried for ever, had not a worthy friend of the author's, some few years after, advised him to put his neglected copy into the hands of Dr Jane, then regius professor of divinity in the university of Oxford. Accordingly Mr Bull committed his papers to the professor, who, highly approving them, recommended this work to the pious and learned Bishop Fell. That prelate wanted no solicitation to undertake the whole expense of printing it, which was accordingly done at the theatre in Oxford in the year 1685. This book is written against the Arians and Socinians on the one hand, and the Tritheists and Sabellians on the other. The author of Bishop Bull's life has given us a history of the controversy, which occasioned the writing this book, together with a plan of the work, and an account of the uses made of it by some later writers, particularly Dr Samuel Clarke in his 'Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity,' and Dr Edwards of Cambridge in his 'Animadversions' on Dr Clarke's book. The Defence is an able, acute, and learned work. But the critique of Father Simon in his 'Nouvelle Bibliotheque choisie,' upon this piece of English divinity, is well-founded:—"Perhaps," says that learned writer, "it would have been better if the author had proved the mystery of the Trinity against the Socinians, by clear and formal passages of the New Testament, rather than have opposed against them a tradition, which does not appear altogether constant." And again, "if the learned Bishop Bull had been well skilled in the critique of the Greek copies of the New Testament, and of the ancient Latin copies, he would not have affirmed so positively, that Tertullian and Cyprian have quoted the 7th verse of the fifth chapter of the first epistle of St John, nor would he have alleged that passage against those who believe that it is not genuine."

In 1686 Bull was presented by Archbishop Sancroft to the archdeaconry of Landaff; soon after, the university of Oxford conferred on

him the degree of D. D., " as an acknowledgment of the singular honour done that university, and of the lasting service done to the whole church, by his excellent ' Defence of the Nicene creed.' " All Dr Bull's Latin works were collected and edited by Dr John Ernest Grabe, in 1703.

In 1705 Bull was elevated to the see of St David's; but he enjoyed the honour of the prelacy only two years. He died on the 27th of September, 1709. The following sketch of this prelate's character is given by the writer of his life, in the ' Biographia Britannica :'—" He was tall of stature, and in his younger years thin and pale, but fuller and more sanguine in the middle and latter part of his age; his sight quick and strong, and his constitution firm and vigorous, till indefatigable reading and nocturnal studies, to which he was very much addicted, had first impaired, and at length quite extinguished the one, and subjected the other to many infirmities; for his sight failed him entirely, and his strength to a great degree, some years before he died. But whatever other bodily indispositions he contracted, by intense thinking, and a sedentary life, his head was always free, and remained unaffected to the last. As to the temperature and complexion of his body, that of melancholy seemed to prevail, but never so far as to indispose his mind for study and conversation. The vivacity of his natural temper exposed him to sharp and sudden fits of anger, which were but of short continuance, and sufficiently atoned for by the goodness and tenderness of his nature towards all his domestics. He had a firmness and constancy of mind, which made him not easily moved when he had once fixed his purposes and resolutions. He had early a true sense of religion; and though he made a short excursion into the paths of vanity, yet he was entirely recovered considerable time before he entered into holy orders. His great learning was tempered with that modest and humble opinion of it, that it thereby shone with greater lustre. His actions were no less instructive than his conversation; for his exact knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and of the writings of the primitive fathers of the church, had so effectual an influence upon his practice, that it was indeed a fair, entire, and beautiful image of the prudence and probity, simplicity and benignity, humility and charity, purity and piety, of the primitive Christians. During his sickness, his admirable patience under exquisite pains, and his continual prayers, made it evident that his mind was much fuller of God than of his illness; and he entertained those that attended him with such beautiful and lively descriptions of religion and another world, as if he had a much clearer view than ordinary of what he believed."

Archbishop Sharpe.

BORN A. D. 1644.—DIED A. D. 1713.

JOHN SHARPE was born at Bradford, on the 16th of February, 1644. His father was inclined to puritanism, and a staunch supporter of the parliament party; his mother was an equally zealous royalist. In 1660 young Sharpe was sent to Cambridge, where he pursued knowledge of every description with avidity and proportionate success. The Newtonian philosophy, especially, engaged his attention; but he continued to indulge himself, at the same time, with the lighter branches of literature and science. Burnet says, "he was a great reader of Shakspeare;" and adds, "Dr Mangey, who had married his daughter, told me, that he used to recommend to young divines, the reading of the Scriptures and Shakspeare."[1] In 1667, he took the degree of master of arts; soon afterwards he was ordained deacon and priest on the same day, and became chaplain and tutor in the family of Sir Heneage Finch, then solicitor-general. Through Finch's interest he was appointed to the archdeaconry of Berks, and, in 1675, to the rectory of St Giles in the fields. In 1681, he was presented with the deanery of Norwich. About this period he published some works upon the subject of schism.

In 1685, on the death of Charles II., he drew up an address for the grand jury of London, upon James's accession, in which he indulged in the strain of affected and servile loyalty of the day. Next year, happening to treat upon some points of the Romish controversy in a manner which gave offence to the king, he was threatened with suspension, and only escaped by petitioning his majesty in a very abject style of submission and flattery. Soon after the accession of the prince of Orange, Sharpe was appointed to the deanery of Canterbury, on the removal of Dr Tillotson to that of St Paul's, and within a short period thereafter he was selected by the king to supply one of the sees vacated by the deprivations of the bishops. The latter preferment, however, met with a peremptory refusal; but Tillotson interposed his influence on behalf of his refractory friend so effectually, that a still more unexpected dignity was soon after conferred upon him; for, on the death of Archbishop Lampleugh, Sharpe was, in May, 1691, appointed to the see of York, which he held for twenty-two years.

At his entrance upon this charge, he laid down to himself certain rules. One was for the encouragement of the clergy, namely, to bestow the prebends in his gift upon such only as were either beneficed in his diocese, or retained in his family. Another more properly respected the laity, namely, never to meddle, or anywise concern himself, in the election of members of parliament. It would scarcely be fair to the memory of the archbishop, to say that he was a thorough-going tory in his political principles; for, although he generally voted with the high-church party, and was recognised by them as one of their leaders, yet, in a few instances, he did exert his interest in opposition

[1] History, vol. iii. p. 100.

to the tories, and seemed to follow the leadings of his own judgment. Churchmen acknowledge themselves under great obligations to this prelate, for his influence with Queen Anne, in procuring and arranging the 'Bounty act.' The idea had indeed originated with Dr Burnet, in the late reign,[2] but it was Dr Sharpe who got it carried into effect. His influence at court was likewise successfully exerted on behalf of the episcopal clergy of Scotland, whose political partialities had exposed them to much severity of treatment at the hands of government. The Vaudois protestants also shared his sympathies, and obtained, through his intercession, the renewal of a pension, granted by King William and Queen Mary, which had been suspended for some years.

In private life the archbishop was courteous, hospitable, and condescending. His charity was extensive, and of his personal piety there seems no reason to doubt. He died on the 2d of February, 1713. His life and some of his papers have been recently given to the public, by the Rev. T. Newcome, rector of Shenly, in two volumes, octavo.

Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury.

BORN A. D. 1643.—DIED A. D. 1715

THIS celebrated prelate, the son of a Scotch civilian, was born in Edinburgh on the 18th of September, 1643. His father, the younger brother of an ancient Aberdeen family, was a respectable lawyer and moderate episcopalian, and became a lord of session after the restoration, by the title of Lord Crimond. His mother was the sister of Sir Archibald Johnston, commonly called Lord Wariston. Gilbert was the youngest son of the family. After having been instructed by his father in the Latin tongue, he was sent at the age of ten to the university of Aberdeen, where he obtained the degree of M. A. before he was fourteen years of age. He studied civil and feudal law for about a year, and then, to the great satisfaction of his father, abandoned it entirely for theological pursuits. He received ordination in his eighteenth year; and Sir Alexander Burnet, his cousin-german, offered him a good living, but he thought proper to decline it, modestly deeming himself too young for the charge. On the death of his father, in 1661, his friends advised him to resume his legal pursuits, with a view of practising at the Scotch bar; but he refused to abandon the study of divinity. In 1663 he visited Oxford and Cambridge, where he became acquainted with More, Fell, Pocock, Wallis, Tillotson, and most of the learned men of the day.

On his return to Scotland, Sir Robert Fletcher offered him the living of Saltoun in East Lothian; but Burnet, wishing to visit Holland, begged to decline it. Sir Robert, however, determined to keep the living vacant until Burnet's return from Holland, whither the latter proceeded in 1664. While residing at Amsterdam, he studied Hebrew under a learned Jewish rabbi, and made a very extensive acquaintance among the leading theologians in that country. He subsequently re-

[2] History, vol v. p 119.

moved to Paris, and thence to London, where he was made a fellow of the royal society. Returning to Scotland, he found the living of Saltoun still vacant, but could not be prevailed upon to take it, until, by preaching to the parishioners for some months, he had ascertained that his ministry was acceptable. In 1665 he was ordained priest, and, for five years, he performed the duties of his sacred office at Saltoun in a most exemplary manner. One of his parishioners having fallen into difficulties, Burnet asked him how much would be sufficient to set him up again in business; the man named a certain sum, which Burnet immediately ordered his servant to fetch. "Sir," said the servant, "it is all we have in the house." "Well, well," replied Burnet, "pay it to this poor man; you do not know the pleasure there is in making a man glad."

About this time he drew up a memorial of the abuses practised by the Scotch bishops, to each of whom he sent a copy of it, signed with his own hand. This bold proceeding, in so young a man, exposed him to the deep resentment of Archbishop Sharpe. In 1668, he was appointed professor of divinity at Glasgow, where he continued four years and a half, hated by the presbyterians, lest his moderation should lead to the establishment of episcopacy, and by the episcopalians, because he was for exempting the dissenters from their persecutions. Soon after his election to the professorship, he published 'A Modest and Free Conference between a Conformist and a Nonconformist,' which procured him an increase of esteem among the friends of moderation. He next occupied himself in compiling his 'Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton,' relative to which he visited London, and while there he was offered, but refused, a Scotch bishopric. On his return to Glasgow, he married Lady Margaret Kennedy, daughter of the earl of Cassilis, "Reputed," says Sir George Mackenzie, "a wit, and the great patron of the presbyterians, in which persuasion she was very bigotted." This lady was much admired by the duke of Lauderdale, and suspected—though Mackenzie thinks unjustly—of too great intimacy with that nobleman. A collection of her letters to the duke was published in 1828.

In 1672 he published 'A Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws, of the Church and State of Scotland,' a work somewhat at variance with his previous opinions. It met with great approbation at court, and procured for him the offer of the next vacant Scotch archbishopric, which, however, he would not accept. In 1673 appeared his 'Mystery of Iniquity Unveiled.' While in London, he was made chaplain to the king. There is a sermon of Burnet's extant, entitled 'The Royal Martyr lamented,' which he preached at the Savoy on the 30th of January, 1674, in which he enacts the part of a royal chaplain tolerably well: speaking of the "endless virtues" of the "murdered prince," and offering "divers passages drawn out of papers under his own royal pen, that will give some characters of his great soul." But his court favour was of brief duration; his name being struck out of the list of royal chaplains, soon after his return to Scotland, for opposing the measures of the unprincipled Lauderdale. He shortly afterwards found it necessary, as it is stated, for his personal security, to resign the professorship of divinity at Glasgow and remove to London.

He now printed his 'Truth of Religion Examined;' and, having refused the living of St Giles's, Cripplegate, which had previously been

intended for his friend, Dr Fowler, he was appointed, in 1675, preacher at the Rolls, and soon afterwards lecturer at St Clement's. In 1676, he published his 'Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton,' and 'An account of a Conference,' between himself, Coleman, and Dr Stillingfleet. The rapid progress of popery at this time induced him to undertake a 'History of the Reformation,' the first volume of which, after having remained a year in manuscript, to receive the corrections of his friends, was produced in 1679. It not only met with great approbation from the public, but procured for the author the thanks of both houses of parliament. In 1681, appeared a second volume of the work; and during the same year he printed 'An account of the Life and Death of the Earl of Rochester.' He had been sent for, it appears, by an unhappy woman who had been engaged in an amour with that profligate nobleman. The humanity with which the worthy clergyman treated the unfortunate female excited the esteem and gratitude of the earl, who solicited an interview with him, and afterwards spent one evening of the week, during a whole winter, in discussing the evidences of Christianity with the divine. The result of these conferences was the conversion of Rochester. In 1682, when the administration was changed in favour of the duke of York, Burnet, in order to avoid as much as possible being drawn into public life, built a laboratory, and for above a year sedulously pursued the experimental study of chemistry.

He soon afterwards published his 'Life of Sir Matthew Hale,' 'The History of the Regale,' 'The Method of Conversion by the Clergy of France Examined,' and 'An Abridgment of the History of the Reformation.' It was about this time, that, having attended Mrs Roberts, one of Charles the Second's mistresses, in her dying moments, he addressed a letter to that monarch in which he boldly censured his licentiousness. "I told the king," he says, "I hoped the reflection on what had befallen his father on the 30th of January, might move him to consider these things more carefully. The king read it twice over, and then threw it in the fire." In 1683, appeared his 'Translation of Sir Thomas More's Utopia.' He had now become so intimately connected with the party opposed to government, that, after having attended Lord Russell to the scaffold, he deemed it prudent to go to Paris; and while there, he was deprived of his lectureship by the king's mandate, and forbidden to preach again at the Rolls. In 1685 he published an admirable life of Bishop Bedell; and about the same period returned to England; but, on the accession of James II., he again fled to Paris, in order to avoid being inculpated with the conspirators in favour of Monmouth. From Paris he proceeded to Rome, where Pope Innocent XI. offered to give him a private audience in bed, to avoid the ceremony of kissing his holiness's slipper; Burnet, however, declined the proposal. He was treated with great consideration by the Cardinals Howard and D'Estrées, but became involved in some religious disputes, on account of which Prince Borghese recommended him to quit Rome. He then made a tour through Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and France, of which he afterwards published an account, in a series of letters addressed to Mr Bayle.

At the conclusion of his tour he repaired to the Hague, on the invitation of the prince and princess of Orange, in whose councils, with respect to England, he took so prominent a share, that James II. or-

dered a prosecution for high treason to be commenced against him, and demanded his person from the states-general, but without effect, as he had previously acquired the rights of naturalization, by forming a union—his first wife being dead—with a Dutch lady of large fortune named Scott. He took a particularly active part in the revolution of 1688, and accompanied the new monarch to England as chaplain. The king, soon afterwards, offered him the bishopric of Salisbury, which, however, he begged his majesty to bestow on his old friend, Dr Lloyd. "I have another person in view," replied the king, who, on the next day, nominated Burnet himself to the see, and subsequently conferred on him the chancellorship of the order of the garter.

On taking his seat in the house of lords, he declared himself an advocate for moderate measures towards nonjuring divines, and for the toleration of protestant dissenters. He acted as chairman of the committee to whom the bill for settling the succession was referred, and displayed so much zeal in favour of the house of Hanover, that the princess Sophia corresponded with him until within a very short period of her death. An 'Account of the Constitution of England,' intended for the private use of the electress, has been ascribed to Burnet, but without sufficient evidence. In 1692, he published a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, which, on account of its containing a statement that the title of William and Mary to the crown might be grounded on the right of conquest, was, three years afterwards, during the ascendancy of Burnet's political enemies, ordered to be burned by the common hangman.

He published 'Four Discourses to the Clergy,' in 1694; 'An Essay on the Character of Queen Mary,' in 1695; and 'A Vindication of Archbishop Tillotson,' in 1696. In 1698, he became tutor to the young duke of Gloucester; and, during the same year—having lost his second wife—married Mrs Berkeley, the authoress of a pious work entitled, 'A Method of Devotion.' In 1699, he produced his 'Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles;' in 1710, his 'Church Catechism Explained;' and, in 1715, the third and supplementary volume of his 'History of the Reformation.' He died of a pleuritic fever on the 17th March, in the last-mentioned year, leaving three sons, one of whom published the first volume of the deceased prelate's celebrated 'History of his Own Time,' with an account of his life, in 1723–4.[1] This work has "long maintained its place among the most important works which relate to the affairs of this country. It includes a survey of the events which preceded the author's entrance upon public life, commencing with the accession of the Stuarts to the crown of England; and is carried down to the year preceding the death of Queen Anne. Copious both in narration and remark, it is one of the original sources from which subsequent writers of history must derive their knowledge of the facts which they record, and of the persons whose characters they delineate. The credit, therefore, to which it is entitled, is a point which every reader who values correct information must be anxious to have deter-

[1] The editor of the first edition of this valuable work suppressed several passages in the original manuscript, probably more from respect to the feelings of others, than, as has been insinuated, from any conviction of dishonest or untrue representations on the part of the author. The suppressed passages were restored in the recent Oxford edition, in 6 vols. 8vo.

mined. What then is the authority which the work may justly challenge? Is Burnet to be trusted as an historian on whose veracity we may depend? No writer has been opposed with more pertinacity of zeal, nor have any memoirs been more frequently charged with being unfair and erroneous than his. His work has been criticised with unsparing severity, and the wish to detect in his accounts such misrepresentations as might support the charge of wilful deviation from truth, has not always been successfully attempted to be concealed. They who remember the manner in which the 'Observations' of Mr Rose were examined and exposed by Serjeant Heywood, in his 'Vindication of Fox's Historical Work,' cannot have forgotten how effectually the authority of Burnet was supported against a host of presumptive arguments, the materials for which had been hunted out with the utmost industry of research, and put together with so much art as apparently to force the conclusion which the writer wished to establish. Other instances have occurred, in which the truth of Burnet's narration has been confirmed by the production of evidence which was inaccessible to his earliest examiners; and facts which rested on his sole authority, have been established by other and independent testimony. We see, then, no reason for withholding from Burnet the credit due to a writer of memoirs and annals, whose design was more extensive than to describe only the transactions in which he was personally concerned. In some cases, his errors have been successfully detected; but a supposed refutation of his opinions has often, with little propriety, been held out as a demonstration of his forgetfulness of truth. He appears to have been inquisitive, and not always discreet in his inquiries, nor always judicious in the selection of the information which his inquiries procured him. But his penetration, if not so profound as always to conduct him to the knowledge which would have enabled him to reach the excellence of a philosophical historian, was not so superficial as some of his adversaries have represented. To what extent he had charged his memory with the information which he had obtained, and what were the precautions which he used to secure the fidelity of his recollections, we are unable to ascertain; but, with the great attention to such varied and extensive materials as were requisite to composition of his history, and which had been accumulating for many years, the avoidance of error was not in every instance practicable. His prejudices might sometimes mislead him, if not in the substantial parts of his relation, yet in respect to the minuter details which his accounts comprise. But, whatever might have been the strength and influence of his party-bias, there is unquestionable evidence, that he was uncontrolled by such a principle in some of the most important of his satements. No reader of his work can go through the accounts which he has given of the discoveries of Oates and the popish plot, without the conviction of his probity, nor finish his perusal of them without admiring the dignified character of his reflections. He could both censure his friends, where censure was incurred by them; and bestow commendation where it was deserved, upon his opponents and others, for whom he could not be supposed to entertain affection. In times more critical and perilous to public men than any other in our national history, and when so many in the service of the sovereigns whom the Revolution had placed upon the throne, were in correspond-

ence with the dethroned monarch, Burnet never compromised his allegiance. He was evidently sincere in his attachment to the new order of things, and his conviction of the truth and value of the great principles of public liberty was, we believe, not only honest, but carried him forward, with more activity, perhaps, than quite accorded with his clerical character and station, in the political agitations of the time."[2]

He is described by Macky, his contemporary, as "a large, strong-made, bold-looking man, and one of the greatest orators of his age." To his powers as a preacher, Speaker Onslow bears testimony. Burnet had preached a sermon against popery at the end of Charles's reign: "Sir John Jekyl," says the speaker, "told me that he was present at the sermon, (I think it was this,) and that when the author had preached out the hour-glass, he took it up and held it aloft in his hand, and then turned it up for another hour, upon which the audience—a very large one for the place—set up almost a shout for joy. I once heard him preach," Onslow continues, "at the Temple-church, on the subject of popery. It was on the fast day for the negotiations of peace at Utrecht. He set forth all the horrors of that religion with such force of speech and action, (for he had much of that in his preaching and action at all times,) that I have never seen an audience anywhere so much affected as we all were who were present at this discourse. He preached then, as he generally did, without notes. He was in his exterior, too, the finest figure I ever saw in a pulpit."

Some tory scribe, soon after his decease, proposed the following inscription for his monument:—

"Here Sarum lies, of late so wise,
And learned as Tom Aquinas;
Lawn sleeves he wore, but was no more
A Christian than Socinus.

"Oaths, pro and con, he swallowed down;
Lov'd gold like any layman;
Wrote, preach'd, and pray'd; and yet betray'd
God's holy word for Mammon.

"Of [illegible] vice he had a spice,
Although a rev'rend prelate;
And liv'd and died, if not belied,
A true dissenting zealot.

"If such a soul to Heav'n should stroll,
And 'scape old Satan's clutches;
We then presume there may be room,
For Marlb'rough and his duchess!"

In the 'Jacobite Relics' there are several other songs directed against Burnet, and all as destitute of either poetry, truth, or wit, as the above. That he was betrayed, by the ardour of his temperament, into frequent improprieties, it would be rash to deny; neither does it appear that he was always so indisposed towards arbitrary principles of government as he became after he had accepted of place from a revolutionary sovereign; but his motives appear to have been always conscientious, and the general tenour of his conduct was certainly more worthy of

[2] Eclectic Review, vol. xxii. pp. 486—488.

applause than deserving of censure. With him in part originated the measure for augmenting poor livings out of the first fruits payable to the crown; during the progress of which, he either instituted to stalls, or bestowed small annuities upon those ministers in his diocese, whose incomes were too slender for their comfortable maintenance. He also allowed pensions to several clergymen's widows, who had been left destitute; contributed largely to the repairing and building of churches and parsonage-houses; and supported four students at the university, and fifty boys at a school at Salisbury. Equally opposed to political, as to religious persecution, he interfered effectually, although in opposition to the wishes of the whig lords, in behalf of the earl of Clarendon, when that nobleman, in 1690, became involved in some of the plots of the day. He also interested himself in favour of Sir John Fenwick; and procured Queen Anne's pardon for Dr Beach, a nonjuring divine, who had preached a treasonable sermon. During the reign of William and Mary, although he never lost the royal favour, he frequently disgusted their majesties by the bold candour with which he delivered his sentiments. To him, pluralists, whom he designated as sacrilegious robbers of the revenues of the church, were so odious, that his chaplains were invariably dismissed on their obtaining promotion. A clergyman in his diocese once asked him, if, on the authority of St Bernard, he might not hold two livings. "How will you be able to serve them both?" inquired Burnet. "I intend to officiate by deputy in one," was the reply. "Will your deputy," said the bishop, "be damned for you too? Believe me, you may serve your cure by proxy, but you must be damned in person!" "I knew Burnet," says Dr King. "He was a furious party-man, and easily imposed on by any lying spirit of his own faction; but he was a better parson than any man who is now seated on the bishop's bench. Although he left a large family when he died, (three sons and two daughters, if I rightly remember,) yet he left them nothing more than their mother's fortune. He always declared that he should think himself guilty of the greatest crime, if he were to raise fortunes for his children out of the revenues of his bishopric." So much for the "spice of every vice" with which the bishop was taxed, and particularly his alleged greediness of gold.

In conversation, he is described as having been often unintentionally disagreeable, through a singular want of consideration. One day, during Marlborough's disgrace and voluntary exile, Burnet, while dining with the duchess, who was a reputed termagant, compared the duke to Belisarius. "How do you account," inquired her grace, "for so great a man as that celebrated Roman, having been so miserable and deserted?" "Oh! madam," replied the bishop, "he had, as you know, such a brimstone of a wife!"

Although hasty and careless in his composition, he has, deservedly, by his vigour, the variety of his knowledge, and the liberality of his sentiments, acquired considerable reputation as an author. Horace Walpole, after stating that his very credulity is a proof of his honesty, declares his style and manner to be very interesting. "It seems," he adds, "as if he had just come from the king's closet, or from the apartment of the man whom he describes, and was telling his reader, in plain terms, what he had seen and heard." Lord Dartmouth thought

Burnet a man of the most extensive knowledge he had ever met with. "He had read and seen a great deal," he says, "with a prodigious memory and a very indifferent judgment. He was extremely partial, and readily took every thing for granted that he heard to the prejudice of those that he did not like, which made him pass for a man of less truth than he really was. I do not think," continues his lordship, "he designedly published any thing he believed to be false." This opinion, however, was entirely changed on perusing the second portion of the work, which was not published till eleven years after the first. "I wrote," says Dartmouth, "in the first volume of this work, that I did not believe the bishop designedly published any thing he believed to be false; therefore think myself obliged to write in this, that I am fully satisfied that he published many things that he knew to be so."[4] The humorous piece, entitled, 'Memoirs of P. P. the Parish Clerk,' was composed in ridicule of the 'History of his own Time,' a work which excited considerable clamour among the tories, and exposed his memory to much animadversion and ridicule from Swift, Pope, Arbuthnot, and others. The foul-mouthed dean calls him a Scotch dog! rogue! vain silly puppy! canting puppy! treacherous villain! His 'Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles,' originally undertaken at the request of Queen Mary and Archbishop Tillotson, although it incurred the censure of the lower house of convocation, was honoured with the applause of Tenison, Sharpe, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Lloyd, Hall, and others, and is still esteemed a standard work on the subject of which it treats. His 'Account of the Life and Death of the Earl of Rochester,' Dr Johnson says, "is a book the critic ought to read for its elegance, the philosopher for its arguments, and the saint for its piety." Yet Cunningham—who is seldom chargeable with want of candour—founds a heavy charge against the bishop on his publication of this excellent little book, as a betrayal of the secrets of confession.[5]

Archbishop Tenison.

BORN A. D. 1636.—DIED A. D. 1715.

THOMAS, son of the Rev. John Tenison, was born at Cottenham in Cambridgeshire, on the 29th of September, 1636. His father was rector of Mundesley in Norfolk, whence he had been ejected for his adherence to Charles I. At the Restoration he became rector of Bracon-Ash, or, according to Masters, of Topcroft in Norfolk. Young Tenison acquired the rudiments of education at the grammar-school of

[4] The Oxford editors of Burnet's History offer a very satisfactory reply to the noble annotator and other detractors from the bishop's well earned fame. "Lord Dartmouth," say they, "uses strong, and Swift much ill language, on Burnet's supposed want of veracity; and the excellent Latin verses of Dean Moss on the same subject are now, we understand, in print. Yet, the bishop's friends need not be apprehensive of a verdict of wilful falsehood against him in consequence of the corrections of his narrative in the subsequent annotations. Lord Dartmouth, indeed, a man of honour, asserts, that this author has published many things which he knew to be untrue. See his note at the beginning of vol. iv. His lordship, it must be allowed, had better opportunities than we have for determining what Burnet knew; but, as he has adduced little or nothing in support of this charge, we may be permitted to think that strong prejudice, not wilful falsehood, occasioned the bishop's erroneous statements."

[5] Memoir of Burnet, in 'Georgian Era,' vol i.

Norwich,—a seminary at that time in high repute under the able mastership of Mr Lovering. From this school he proceeded, about the year 1653, to Cambridge, where he was admitted a scholar of Benedict college, upon Parker's foundation. Here he took his degree of A. B. in 1656–7; and at first applied his attention to medicine; but, on the eve of the Restoration, he procured private ordination from Dr Duppa. In 1662 he became tutor, and, in 1665, was chosen one of the university-preachers, and presented to the cure of St Andrew the Great, in Cambridge. When the plague broke out in Cambridge, and all who could fled from the infected city, it is recorded of Tenison that he remained behind, with only two scholars and a few servants, during the whole of the calamity, conscientiously and regularly performing the duties of his cure. In token of their esteem and gratitude, his parishioners presented him with a valuable piece of plate, when he left them in 1667, on being presented to the rectory of Holywell in Huntingdonshire.

About this period he entered into the matrimonial state, with Anne, daughter of Dr Love, some time master of Benedict. In 1670 he appeared as an author, in a work entitled 'The Creed of Mr Hobbes examined.' It had been alleged of Tenison that he leaned to some of Hobbes's objectionable opinions; but the suspicion was fully refuted in this work. In 1674 he became first minister of St Peter's Mancroft, Norwich. In 1678 he published a 'Discourse of Idolatry,' and, the year following, some remains of Lord Bacon. In 1680 he took the degree of D. D., and towards the close of that year was presented by Charles II., who had already nominated him one of his chaplains, with the vicarage of St Martin's-in-the-Fields. In this living he exerted himself indefatigably for the spiritual and moral improvement of his parishioners, and in watching and checking the proceedings of the popish party. In 1681 he published 'A Sermon of Discretion in giving Alms,' which led him into a controversy with Pulton the Jesuit; and, in 1684 he published 'The difference between the Protestant and the Socinian Methodists,' in answer to a book written by one of his Romish antagonists, entitled 'The Protestant's plea for a Socinian.'

Dr Tenison attended the duke of Monmouth while in prison and on the scaffold; and we have Burnet's testimony that he acquitted himself conscientiously in his solemn duty to that unfortunate nobleman, yet with all mildness and becoming respect. In 1687 he held a conference with Pulton, in which the grounds and authorities of the protestant faith were largely debated. A report of this conference was soon afterwards published, and Dr Tenison followed up the debate with a number of controversial tracts written with ability and moderation, in so much so that even James II. acknowledged the amiable spirit of the Doctor, and made advances to him.

In the succeeding reign he laboured hard to effect a revision of the liturgy,[8] and to conciliate the dissenters, to whom he exhibited a very tolerant spirit. The queen was so highly satisfied with his conduct, that she solicited for him, and obtained the bishopric of Lincoln, to which he was consecrated in January, 1692. It is said that Jersey, then master of the horse, strenuously opposed Tenison's elevation to

[8] See Memoir of Beveridge.